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THE
HISTORY
James OF *Alexander*
DION CASSIUS

Abridg'd by *Xiphilin.*

Containing

The most considerable Passages under
the *Roman* Emperors, from the time
of *Pompey* the Great, to the Reign of
Alexander Severus.

In Two Volumes.

Done from the *Greek*,
By Mr. MANNING.

*Tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur
Scriptorem, & Authorem rerum, tamen
in primis arduum videtur res gestas
scribere. Salust.*

London: Printed for A. and J. Churchill,
in Paternoster-Row, 1704.

CHARLES

ESTATE

THE Obedience I have
to your Lordship is to
be great and to particular
ly known to the World from the
publick name of Duke of Devon
should have been generally known
unmindful of my Duty and ever
unthankful for your favour and
had not paid this publick respect
to your Lordship, and as I am
certain by making this Address to
you

TO THE

Right Honourable

CHARLES

Earl of *ORRERY*.

THE Obligations I have
to your Lordship are so
great, and so particular-
ly known to the World from the
publick nature of them, that I
should have been generally thought
unmindful of my Duty, and even
unthankful for your Favours, if I
had not paid this publick Respect
to your Lordship; and as I am
certain by making this Address to
A 2 you

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you of falling in with the general expectation, so am I sure of meeting with every bodies approbation of my Choice, except your Lordship's.

I am very sensible that Acknowledgments for the favours you do, are so far from being expected by you, that they are uneasie to you. I know that you had rather do a thousand kind Offices, than hear of one you have done. But tho' your Lordship is justly perswaded with *Seneca*, that true Benefits, like Vertue, are their own Rewards, and claim no Returns; yet the Person who receives the Benefit, is under all the injunctions of Gratitude imaginable, to make what Acknowledgments he is able.

Twas

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'Twas from this Consideration that I judg'd it a Duty incumbent on me, to take the first proper opportunity of publishing my thankful sense of all your Favours. Thus even Gratitude it self becomes a troublefom Vertue, and is so conscious of its own intrinsick Worth, that rather than be wanting to it self, 'twill run the risque of disobliging the object it pursues.

'Tis hard I confess, that generous Natures can't be suffer'd to do good in quiet. A grateful Heart, it seems, will be shewing its zeal, though it prove unwelcom: Like many a successful Lover, that takes more satisfaction in discovering, than receiving the favour.

But to leave a Subject which I could dwell upon with pleasure,

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if I was not writing to your Lordship, I have done my self the Honour to inscribe to you the following Translation of *Dion Cassius*, abridg'd by *Xiphilin*. Your Lordship well knows, that it comprehends one of the Noblest parts of the *Roman History*, and one of the most fruitful in famous Events. For what is there more surprizing, than an entire change of the Government of the most powerful State that ever was in the World, and the establishment of an absolute Monarchy founded upon the ruine of a Republick, that had triumph'd over all Nations? Yet this alteration, which in all appearance was likely to shake the foundations of the Greatness and Power of *Rome*, confirm'd them but the more. The Empire was more flourishing from *Augustus's* time to that of *Trajan*,

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Trajan, than the Commonwealth had ever been. 'Twas in this interval that it extended its limits on one side from the *Euphrates* to the *Western Ocean*, and on the other, from the Head of the *Nile* as far Northward as the *Rhine* and the *Danube*. Its force was answerable to its Extent. Its Armies were innumerable and invincible.

The Cities were so populous, that there was an absolute necessity of discharging multitudes of their Inhabitants, which was effected by sending Colonies into the conquer'd Provinces.

Its Riches were immense, and seem'd inexhaustible, notwithstanding the incredible Expences that were continually made to sustain the weight of the Wars, to keep

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up the Armies, to provide for the
Pomp of Sports and Triumphs,
and the Magnificence of Palaces and
Theatres.

If from the Death of *Trajan*,
the *Roman* Empire declin'd from
that towring pitch of Greatness, if
following the fortune of all crea-
ted things, it suffer'd some diminu-
tion when it could swell no bigger,
yet still did it preserve more splen-
dor and force in the beginning of
its Declension, than many other
States have enjoy'd in their greatest
Elevation.

Thus the *Romans* having never
possess'd so extensive a Power, as
in the Reign of their first Empe-
rors, it remains of course, that no
part of their History is more wor-
thy to be known or put into our
Lang

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Language. Nor will it be denied, I suppose, that among the Authors, who have given us the History of the *Roman* Affairs, the *Greeks* may justly challenge the pre-eminence.

It is certain that the Works of the *Greek* Authors have the advantage over the *Latin* ones, in respect both of Antiquity and Excellence. The *Athenians* had almost brought Learning to its Perfection, before the rest of *Europe* had begun to addict themselves to it. *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* and *Xenophon* had finish'd their Masterpieces at the time when *Rome* had heard as yet of no other History than the Annals of her High-Priest. What she has since produc'd upon any Subject whatsoever, can only be look'd upon as a Copy, which though faithful, is still far short
of

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of the beauty of the Original, from whence it was drawn. Her History has been sooner and better written by Strangers, than by her own Citizens. While she was taken up with strengthening the Foundations of her Commonwealth, and extending her Dominion through the World, she had no leisure to cultivate the Arts of Speaking and Writing, which are Arts that fly the noise of Arms, and only flourish in the midst of Peace.

The Poets were the first who undertook to celebrate the shining Actions of her Generals, of which there remains no Monument more ancient than the fragments of *Ennius*, who died about the end of the sixth Century. The *Roman* People had for a course of near six hundred years, been pushing on their
Ambi.

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Ambition and their Arms on all sides, without having one Writer that was able to describe their Conquests. *Pictor*, *Cato*, and *Piso* were the first who ventur'd upon the undertaking. But their performances are of no exalted size: For how should they possess the Art of adorning a Discourse, when it was not yet brought from *Greece*? They only endeavour'd to express themselves clearly, and thought they were not oblig'd to look after any other Ornament than Brevity.

It seem'd as if the *Romans* were under a necessity of making themselves Masters of *Greece*, in order to procure Subjects that should be qualified to transmit to Posterity the happy success of their Arms. They found one there in the Person of *Polybius*, who having chosen the most
fertile

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fertile matter that the most flourishing Age of their Republick could provide for the industry of an Historian, shew'd an unparallel'd capacity in his management of it. *Titus Livius*, who wrote long after him, and who holds the first Rank among the Writers of his own Country, is so far from claiming any precedence over him, that he esteems it a kind of Honour to follow him. And indeed he never appears so able, as when he imitates him. If sometimes he makes a better choice of his Words than *Polybius*, and ranks them in a more exact order, he seems to want much of the solidity of his Judgment, and his profound knowledge in Politicks and Morality, the conduct of Armies, and the Government of States.

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In ſtead of giving, like *Polybius* the real cauſes of Events, he often advances nothing but Fables, and recites Prodigies and Miracles with a credulity more worthy of a Child, or of one of the meanest of the People, than of a grave and ſerious Author.

Dionysius of *Halicarnassus*, likewise ſurpaſs'd all the *Latin* Hiſtorians that attempted either before or after him a part of the ſame Subject. As the principal Motive that induc'd him to undertake this Work, was to undeceive ſeveral of his Country-men, who thought there was nothing but what was mean and low in the beginnings of the *Roman* People, and nothing but what was unjuſt in the meaſures they put in praſtiſe for obtaining
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the Empire of the Universe, he took incredible pains to search into the Original of the first Inhabitants of the *Latin* Country, the Foundation of *Rome*, the Succession of the Kings, the Establishment of the Power of the Consuls and Senate; which gave *Scaliger* occasion to say, that he has treated more amply and more exactly of the Affairs of the *Romans*, than *Titus Livius*.

But to come to the time of the Emperors, and to speak of the Writers who have transmitted to us what pass'd in their Reigns, it is, I think, generally agreed that there is none of them to whom *Dion* may not justly be preferr'd.

He was a Man that had all the advantages of Birth, Education, and Employments that one
could

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could desire to enable him to perform a task of so much Difficulty and Importance, as was that which he undertook of composing the general History of the *Romans*. He was born at *Nice*, a famous City of *Bithynia*. His Father was Governor of *Cilicia* in the beginning of *Adrian's* Reign. He was himself Governor of *Pergamus* and *Smyrna* in the Reign of *Macrinus*, and afterwards of *Egypt* and *Pannonia*. He was twice Consul, the first time in the Reign of the Emperor *Commodus*, and the second in the time of the Emperor *Alexander*, who was his Collegue in that Station, and who furnish'd the Expence to which it oblig'd him.

After having compos'd a Book of certain Dreams, upon which *Severus* founded his pretensions to
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the Empire, he was excited in the manner he relates it to write the *Roman History*, and having form'd his resolution upon it, he employ'd ten years in collecting Memoirs of what had pass'd from the first beginnings of the *Roman People*, to the Reign of *Severus*, and twelve years more in digesting them, and reducing them into a Body.

He divided his Work into four-score Books, the first of which began with the relation of *Æneas's* arrival in *Italy*, and the last ended at the Reign of *Alexander Severus*.

His Stile is in the judgment of *Photius*, as sublime and as lofty as it ought to be to answer the greatness of the Subjects, which are often met with in the course of his Work. He has imitated *Thucydides*,

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des, especially in his Harangues, but has avoided his faults, and among the rest his obscurity.

If this precious Treasure had been preserv'd entire, there had been no occasion to have recourse to *Xiphilin*, since upon all Subjects whatsoever entire Works are preferable to Abridgments. But since we have no more of him than the History of what pass'd from *Julius Caesar* to *Nero*, it may possibly be thought more adviseable to take from *Xiphilin* alone the whole connexion of the History which he abridg'd, than to attempt an imperfect Work that comprehends so small a tract of time.

Xiphilin the Historian was not the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, as *Andrew Scotus* and *Vossius* imagin'd,
a but

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but the Nephew of that Patriarch as he says himself in the History of *Augustus*. He made about the end of the eleventh Age a Compendium of the five and forty last Books of *Dion*, which contain the History of the Emperors, to the time of *Alexander* Son of *Mammea*. 'Tis probable he did not abridge the five and thirty first Books, since there remains no trace or testimony of it, and besides he assures us that even in his time there wanted something of the History of *Dion*.

For what remains, he has been exact and faithful in following the sense, and often the very words of his Author, as one may justify him by comparing the Abridgment of the five and twenty Books which remain with their Original. If he has made some Mistakes, he made them
after

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after *Dion*. If he mistook, for Example, in saying that when *Cherea* and *Sabinus* conspir'd against *Caligula*, they discover'd their design to *Calisthus* and *Eparchus*, and if *Eparchus* is taken in this place for a Proper Name, in stead of an Office, *Dion* had made the mistake before.

There is such another Error in *Xiphilin*, which 'tis likewise probable he committed after *Dion*. 'Tis in relation to the first Conspiracy that was form'd against *Commodus*, where he says that *Pompeianus* was the Author of it, and that 'twas he who presented a Dagger to the Emperor, saying, 'Behold what the Senate has sent thee. *Herodian* on the contrary assures us, that *Pompeianus* had no knowledge of the Conspiracy, and that *Lucilla* his Wife not daring to mention it to him, broke

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broke it only to *Quadratus*, with whom she held a Criminal Correspondence, and that 'twas he who had the insolence to present a Dagger to the Emperor.

Your Lordship will forgive me for detaining you thus long with relation to the Work I have made bold to present you with in our own Tongue. How well it is perform'd, I must leave entirely to my Readers. I assume nothing to myself, but an endeavour to make my Author speak intelligible *English*. I shall only add what my Subject leads me to, and what for my Reader's sake, I ought to mention: That as there are but few Authors that can present any Book to your Lordship in most other Languages, and on most of the Learned Subjects, but might wish they had been assist-

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ed by your Lordship's Skill and Knowledge therein, as well as Patronage and Protection; so the Translator of this *Greek* Historian in particular must lament, that notwithstanding all his Industry and Pains, he is fain infinitely short of that great Judgment, Nicety, and Criticism in the *Greek* Language, which your Lordship has in your Writings made appear to the World.

But, My Lord, I would not offend you, and I must not trespass upon that sweetness of Nature that is so remarkable in your Lordship, therefore to put an end to this long Epistle, give me leave to ask your Pardon, and the Honour to be esteem'd,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Oblig'd,

Humble Servant,

FRANCIS MANNING.

THE
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this First Volume.

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THE

1871



THE
HISTORY
OF

Dion Cassius,

Abridg'd by *XIPHILIN.*

Containing,

*The most considerable Passages under
the Roman Emperors, from the
time of Pompey the Great, to A-
lexander Son of Mamea.*

THE Consuls having drawn
lots for the Provinces, the
War of Crete fell to *Horten-
sius*. But as he was very
fond of living at *Rome*, where he was
in greatest Reputation at the Bar after
B *Cicero,*

Cicero, he willingly yielded the Command of the Army to his Colleague, that he might enjoy the pleasure of staying at home. Thus *Metellus* going to *Crete*, soon subdued the whole Island in spite of *Pompey's* endeavours to cross his Designs; who having at that time the absolute command of all the Sea, as well as of the Coasts, three days Journey up into the Land, pretended that the Islands belong'd to his Jurisdiction. Nevertheless *Metellus* did not fail to finish this War, for which he triumph'd, and was surnam'd *Creticus*. About this time *L. Lucullus* after having vanquish'd and put to flight *Mithridates*, and *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, both Kings of *Asia*, besieg'd *Tigranocerta*, where the *Barbarians* extreamly incommoded his Army, not only with showers of Arrows, but also with *Naphta*, which they threw from far by the means of certain Machines. This *Naphta* is a sort of Brimstone so dangerous when 'tis inflam'd, that it immediately consumes every thing it touches, and is not easily extinguish'd, whatsoever quantity of Water you pour upon it. So that *Tigranes*, who made no doubt of Success, ap-
pearing

pearing with a vast number of Troops, laugh'd at the *Romans*, who were incamp'd before this place, saying as 'tis reported, that if they came as Enemies, they were too few, and if Ambassadors, too many. But this pleasant humour did not last long, and experience taught him soon, how much Courage and Skill are to be preferr'd to numbers in War. *Tigranes* being routed and put to flight, the Soldiers of *Lucullus* brought him his Crown and Royal Robes, which the other had thrown off to avoid being known. *Tigranocerta* being taken by Storm, was pillag'd by the Army. The Women only escap'd with their Lives and Honours, which gain'd *Lucullus* the hearts of their Husbands, who had follow'd *Tigranes* in his Flight. Being inform'd that *Pacorus* King of the *Parthians*, had a design to send succours to *Tigranes*, *Lucullus* wrote Letters to him full of Menaces, if he should offer to assist him. But he kept the Neutrality, and assisted neither one nor t'other. *Lucullus* afterwards posselt'd himself of *Nisibis*, where *Tigranes* usually kept his Court. For the rest, tho' he had had great experience in the af-

fairs of War, and was the first of the *Romans* that pass'd *Mount Taurus* with an Army, where he vanquish'd two powerful Kings, and made a vast progress in *Asia*; yet he was never able to be so absolute a Master of his Soldiers, but that there was a perpetual Mutiny amongst them, which at last came to that height, that they entirely abandon'd him. The reason of which was, that he loaded them with too many Commands, was by no means of a winning behaviour; on the contrary, severe in demanding an account of the Orders he had given them, and inexorable with regard to Punishments: So that he neither gain'd their Affections by Gifts, nor good Words. As a convincing proof that 'twas his own fault, the same Troops serving since under *Pompey*, were never guilty of the least disorders; so true is it, that there is a great deal of difference between Man and Man.

The *Romans* about this time had a War with the Pyrates, which gave them more trouble than any other they were ever engag'd in. For a vast number of Robbers taking the opportunity when *Rome* had foreign Wars upon her Hands, ha-
ving

ving encreas'd their Force to that degree (because the Government had not call'd them to account) that they not only committed a thousand Piracies upon the Sea with whole Fleets, but disembarking upon Land, plunder'd Cities, and set Villages on fire, insomuch that this disorder having made all Commerce cease, several Cities, and *Rome* especially, suffer'd a dreadful Famine. In the mean time these Pyrates came and burnt the very Ships that were at Anchor in the Port of *Ostia*, and left every where marks of their Violence. The *Romans* being oblig'd to set out a Fleet to send against them, they gave the command of it to *Pompey*, with an absolute Power for three years, though against the opinion of the Senate: But when the People were told that the Senators had shewn the utmost indignation against those, who had nam'd *Pompey* for this Employment; they ran all in fury to the Senate-House whilst they were still assembled, and if they had not taken warning to save themselves, no doubt but the People had pull'd them to pieces.

Tho' 'twas certainly known that *Pompey* had an extream passion for this Command, yet he did not fail to disguise it, and to excuse himself from it by a discourse very opposite to his Thoughts. Thereupon *Roscius* not daring openly to oppose what the People desir'd with so much earnestness, rais'd his hand to make a Sign, that they should chuse two Generals, in order to lessen in some sort the power of *Pompey*. But this action excited so great a noise among the People, that a Crow who by chance flew that way, fell down dead, as if he had been struck with Thunder. Afterwards *Catulus*, who was one of the most considerable among the Senators, having made this demand to the People, " If you
 " send *Pompey*, says he to them, upon an
 " Enterprize of so much Danger, especial-
 " ly where a War is made upon the Sea,
 " in case he should die, whom will you
 " appoint in his room to manage those
 " Affairs, which are of the greatest Im-
 " portance? All answer'd with one
 Voice, Your Self. Thus *Pompey* had the
 Sovereign Command of all the Sea,
 with an absolute Power over all the
 Coasts, and thirty Leagues up into the
 Country.

Country. Besides which, they gave him fifteen Lieutenants, and all the Ships he should meet with; the Senate having been oblig'd in spite of it self to ratifie all these things. After he had defeated these Pyrates, he us'd them with great gentleness; and lest Poverty should oblige them a second time to the same trade, he gave among them all the Lands that lay uncultivated, and several Towns that were uninhabited; amongst a great many that were repeopled after this manner, that which we now call *Pompeiopolis*, was one. It stands upon the Coast of *Sicily*, and had been ruin'd by *Tigranes*, its first name being *Soli*. In a word, *Pompey* got a great Reputation by his Humanity to the Pyrates. He was chosen afterwards to succeed *Lucullus*, though 'twas against the opinion of the Great Men; but besides that he had the People for him, *Cæsar* and *Cicero* declar'd themselves in his favour, and even pleaded his Cause. The last, because he had long endeavour'd to insinuate himself into the favour of the People, to whom he made his Court upon all occasions: And the other, because he affected sometimes the Party of

the Senate, and sometimes that of the People, in order to render himself at the head of Affairs, making known to both, that whatsoever side he embrac'd, he pretended to be the strongest, which made both Orders give him the name of Deserter.

Pompey entring into *Asia* at the Head of an Army, defeated *Mithridates* in Battel in the Night. For as he fled before him, to avoid an Engagement with him in a very dark Night, he attack'd him in a Valley surrounded on all sides with Mountains, where he had before posted his Troops; the thing was thus. The Trumpets first sounded the Charge all at once; then the Army set up a great Cry, and made a dreadful Noise, some striking their Shields with their Javelins, and others their Armour with Stones. The neighbouring Mountains, which made *Eccho's* in their Cavities, reverberated the sound in a terrible manner, which put the *Barbarians* into the last Consternation. Then the *Romans* began the fight at a distance with Storms of Arrows and Javelins; but after they had spent what they had, they rush'd upon them with their Swords. They slew those

those who were in the Wings without any difficulty, because being but slightly arm'd, the greatest part of them had no Coats of Mail, which made them fall at the first stroke. For the rest who fought in the Body of the Battel, the others taking flight with fear fell foul upon them, and put them into Disorder. Thus the *Barbarians* could neither assist one another, nor repulse the Enemy. *Mithridates* sav'd himself with a few of his Friends in *Colchis*, and from thence escap'd to the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Bosphorus*, where having kill'd by surprize his Son *Machares*, who was of the side of the *Romans*, he possessed himself of his Kingdom. *Pompey* built a City in the place where he got the Victory, and peopled it with wounded Soldiers, or such whom Age had made unserviceable. They subsist still to this day under the name of *Nicopolites*, and follow the Customs of *Cappadocia*. After these Exploits having pass'd the *Araxes*, he seiz'd upon *Artaxata*, which *Tigranes* surrendred to him, together with himself. *Tigranes* coming into the Camp on Horseback, *Pompey* sent a *Lictor* to him to command him to dismount; but when he perceiv'd that he had thrown away his Crown,

Crown, and was prostrate at his feet, as 'twere to adore him, his Heart relented at the Sight : So that he advanc'd to raise him, put his Crown upon his Head, and making him sit upon a Seat next to his own, said to him among other things to comfort him, that he had not only not lost his Kingdom of *Armenia*, but that he had moreover obtain'd the friendship of the *Romans*. *Pompey* after this divided his Army into three Bodies, and march'd to take his Winter-quarters about *Tanais* and *Cirne*, where he defeated the *Albanians*, (who thought it below them to make any submission to him) and kill'd a great number of them.

He had the same success against the *Iberians*, who inhabit Mount *Caucasus*. After which he would fain have been at variance with *Phraates* King of the *Parthians*, with whom he had made an Alliance a little before, and ev'n threatned to enter into his Country with an Army. But being reproach'd by *Phraates* in several Letters which he wrote to him, wherein he also accus'd the *Roman* People of several things, he was asham'd of his Design, and gave
over

over all thoughts of it, insomuch that he neither assisted *Tigranes*, with whom the *Parthian* was at War, nor gave him any other occasion of Complaint. He only nam'd three Arbitrators to enquire into their Differences, who being intrusted by the two Kings with all their Interests, and made by them Referees of their Disputes, brought Matters to an Accommodation between them. *Pompey* afterwards quitting *Armenia*, compos'd all the Dissensions that had arisen between the Kings and Princes that had been of his side; confirming to some their Dominions, enlarging those of others, and even retrenching the Power of some. After which he united *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, which he had taken away by force from their Princes, and where the *Arabians* and *Tigranes* had committed great Devastations. And though *Antiochus* had the boldness to reclaim them, 'twas without effect; they were united into one State, to which he assign'd Laws: So that they observe to this day the *Roman* Customs. About the same time the Body of *Mithridates*, whom his Son *Pharnaces* had Murder'd, being brought to him, he order'd it to be interr'd

terr'd in the Tomb of his Ancestors. Afterwards he subdued *Arabia* without much difficulty, then entred into *Palestine*, because the People of this Country had plunder'd *Phœnicia*.

It was then under the Government of two Brothers, *Hircanus* and *Aristobulus*, who were at difference about the charge of High-Priest, (for with them whosoever is Chief Priest to their God, is King) which gave *Pompey* an easie opportunity to possess himself of the whole Country. *Hircanus* gave him no trouble; but for *Aristobulus*, when he saw that he would not perform his Agreement with him, after he had surrendred himself into his Hands, which was to deliver up the City with all its Treasure to him, he put him in Chains, then march'd to besiege *Jerusalem*, where he met with very great Difficulties, inso-much that if the *Jews* had not abstain'd from all manner of Work upon their Sabbath-Day, he would never have made himself Master of it. But as they are extreamly exact in the observation of that Day, the Troops of *Pompey* had leisure enough to batter the Walls, which they did with the utmost Vigour upon
every

every return of it ; so that making no opposition, they were all taken on a Saturday, and all their Treasure plunder'd. After which *Pompey* having restor'd the Kingdom to *Hircanus*, carried *Aristobulus* away Prisoner with him. I am wholly unacquainted with the Original of the name of the *Jews*, tho' 'tis known to all those who observe their Laws, though Natives of another Country. The *Romans* have often less'n'd their Number, and yet they have multiplied so extreamly, that 'tis not now in the Power of Laws to extirpate them. Their Customs are quite different from those of other Nations, for besides their particular way of Living, they adore none of the common Deities. They acknowledge but One, whom they worship with great Respect, and to whom they render very great Honours. There never was any Image in *Jerusalem*; because they believe their God to be Invisible and Ineffable. In a word, the Religious Worship with which they serve him, surpasses that of all other Nations. They have built him a Temple of prodigious Greatness and Beauty, and is very remarkable in this,

this, that 'tis open on the Top, and has no Roof. The Day, which bears the Name of *Saturn*, is Sacred with them; and among other Ceremonies, they observe upon that day, they abstain from all manner of Labour. So much for what relates to their God. To say who he is, when he began to be Worship'd, and with what Devotion they serve him; besides that several Authors have treated of it, is no part of this History.

As for what relates to the reason why the days of the Week take their Name from those seven Stars, which we call Planets, the *Egyptians* being the first Authors of it, it is not very long since this Custom has been introduc'd into other Nations; for I believe the ancient *Greeks* had no knowledge of it. But since at present 'tis receiv'd by all the World, and particularly by the *Romans*, I'll give in a few words, the Cause and Reasons that have serv'd to put it in use; there are two, which are easie enough to comprehend with never so little Attention. A Man must represent to himself, that that Figure of Musick which is call'd the *Fourth*, and which is the
foun-

foundation of it in the opinion of the Ancients, meets likewise in the course of those Stars, which form by their variety, all the beauty of the Heavens. So that if beginning in the First Heaven, which is call'd that of *Saturn*, he comes of a sudden to the Fourth, without stopping at the two preceding; and afterwards to the Seventh, without counting likewise either the Fifth or Sixth, and then begins a second time to make this Tour after the same manner, by reckoning the first of those he had skip'd before, each Day will meet the Planet whose Name it bears, and which governs it. So that he'll find that the Heavens rule the Days with a kind of Harmony, which is analogous to Musick. This is the first reason which is brought: Now for the other, you must count the four and twenty Hours, as well of the Day as Night, beginning with the First, which is an Hour after Midnight, and which is to be assign'd to *Saturn*, the Second to *Jupiter*, the Third to *Mars*, the Fourth to the *Sun*, the Fifth to *Venus*, the Sixth to *Mercury*, and the Seventh to the *Moon*, which is the order the *Egyptians* attribute

bute to the Heavens. After which you must begin again, and assign the Eighth to *Saturn*, the Ninth to *Jupiter*, and so of the rest; and when the four and twenty Hours are finish'd, the first Hour of the Day following will fall upon the *Sun*; and if you continue the same course after the same manner, that of the next day which is Monday, will fall upon the *Moon*, and so of all the rest, each of which will meet its Planet. This is what Authors have said upon this Subject.

But to return from whence we have digress'd, though *Pompey's* Conquests were very considerable, and such as none of the ancient *Romans* had e're arriv'd to, yet one may say, they were either an effect of his good luck, or of the Caprice of Fortune, or of the Valour of his Soldiers. But that which is very glorious in him, and what can never be sufficiently commended; that when 'twas in his power to possess himself of all *Italy*, and render himself absolute Master in *Rome*, by the means of a powerful Army at his Devotion: He would not so much at think on't, but disbanded his Army as soon as he came to *Brundisium*, without even waiting
for

for the Orders of the Senate, or People. His Triumph was adorn'd with several Trophies, which represented the Victories he had gain'd; among others there was one more Stately and Magnificent than all the rest together, which bore this Inscription; *The Conqueror of the World*. About this time *Julius Cæsar*, and *Marcus Cato*, began to flourish in the Commonwealth. The first was altogether for Popularity, and sided with the People upon all occasions, so far as to favour *Pompey*, whom he did not love: But as he bore him a secret Hatred, he us'd his utmost power underhand, to render his Power hateful to the People. As for *Cato*, he often declar'd himself openly against *Pompey*. His Character was to admire no body, to love the Commonwealth above all things, not to suffer any Man's Elevation above the common pitch; because 'twas to be suspected, that it might degenerate into Tyranny. On the other side, was the interest of the People concern'd; He supported it with all his Power, from an imagination, that they were the weakest Party. In a word, when he believ'd a thing to be Just, he

C boldly

boldly spoke his mind, what danger soever there was in doing it. About this time the Conspiracy of *Catiline* to destroy the Commonwealth being discover'd by *Cicero*, whilst he was Consul, the Conspirators were executed. Among them one *Fulvius* a Senator, was kill'd by his own Father. Whilst *Cæsar* was Governor of *Lusitania*, where he sought all occasions of making himself known, he had bred a Horse, whose Fore-feet were forked; this Horse being extream fiery, suffer'd no body to mount him but himself, which made him conceive great hopes of his future Fortune.

Being elected Consul at his return from *Lusitania*, he made Laws in favour of the People, and supported them with such an admirable force of Eloquence, that no body but *Cato* had the Courage to oppose him. Upon which *Cæsar*, after he had driven him by force out of the Senate, was going to drag him to Prison. But *Cato* making no Resistance, and several following him; among others, *Cæsar* having reproach'd one *Marcus Petronius* for going out of the House, before the Senate was adjourn'd,

journ'd, he answer'd, I had rather go
 with *Cato* to Prison, than stay here with
 you; he was ashamed of what he had done,
 and set him at liberty. On the other
 side he did not reply one word to *Cice-
 ro*, who had us'd him very roughly in a
 Speech; for he was of a Temper mild
 enough, and not subject to Passion. But
 afterwards he set *Clodius* against him, and
 got him banish'd by his means, so that his
 Estate was confiscated, his House raz'd
 to the Ground, and himself banish'd
 from *Rome*, and a hundred Leagues
 round. Certainly *Cæsar* had not his
 equal in this particular, in knowing
 how to despise in appearance, through
 a greatness of Spirit, a Man that had
 injur'd him, and afterwards to be re-
 veng'd of that Man by the means of o-
 thers, without letting it appear, that it
 came from him. *Cicero* retiring into
Macedonia, *Philiscus*, with whom he had
 formerly been very intimately acquaint-
 ed at *Athens*, made him a Philosophical
 Discourse to comfort him. But he was
 soon after recall'd to *Rome*, by the Care
 and Solicitation of *Pompey*. The Con-
 quests *Cæsar* made in *Gaul*, the Govern-
 ment of which was faln to him by Lot

for five years, made him very famous. For though the *Barbarians* of that Country surpass'd the *Romans* in Number and Strength of Body, yet they were much inferior to them in their way of Arming, and in Experience. Besides *Cæsar* knew by his Prudence, how to stop the fury of the *Gauls*, who threw themselves precipitately into all Dangers, without the least Consideration. In a word, he got so many Advantages over them, and beat them in so many Battels, that the *Romans* understanding he had subdued whole Nations, whose very Names were unknown to them till then, order'd publick Thanksgivings for fifteen days together, which had never been done before.

About this time *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, having been dispossest'd of his Kingdom by his Subjects for his Tyrannical Government, came to *Rome* for Protection, where he endeavour'd by Gifts, to gain those who were most in Credit, that the Republick might undertake to restore him. He also found means to poison the greatest part of those hundred Ambassadors, which the *Egyptians* had sent to *Rome* to accuse him;

him; which appear'd very cruel to the *Roman* People. He also got *Dion* Assassinated, the chief Person of the Embassy, who was to have deliver'd to the Senate the Subjects of their Complaints against him, without receiving any Punishment for these Crimes; because *Pompey* entertain'd him in his House, and protected him upon all occasions; so prevailing were Bribes even at that time in *Rome*. About the same time the Island of *Cyprus*, which was a part of the Kingdom of *Ptolomy*, was annex'd to the Dominions of the Republick. *Pompey* also built then that Magnificent Theatre, which is standing at this day, at whose Dedication five hundred Lyons were kill'd in five days, and eighteen Elephants having fought against arm'd Men, part of them died upon the place, and the rest soon after. For the People spar'd them at that time out of Compassion, when they saw, that after having receiv'd a great many Wounds, they not only quitted the Combat, but set up a mournful Cry, turning up their Trunks to Heaven. 'Tis said these Animals know, besides the Language of their Country, what passes in the court

of the Heavens, infomuch, that upon the New Moon, before ſhe Riſes, they go to bath themſelves in a clear Stream. I have heard that 'twas not *Pompey*, but *Demetrius*, his Freedman, who built this Theatre out of the Money he had got under him in the Wars; *Pompey* having only borrow'd the Name, to prevent any blame or cenſure that might be thrown upon him, for having ſuffer'd the Son of a Slave to be able to defray ſo vaſt an Expenſe. *Cæſar* was the firſt of the *Romans* that paſs'd the *Rhine*, he afterwards went over into *England*, under the Conſulſhip of *Pompey* and *Cræſſus*. This Iſland is diſtant from the Main Land of *Gallia Celtica*, on the ſide of *Picardy*, but a very ſmall Paſſage, which is not above ten or twelve Leagues. All the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* knew nothing at all of it; the moſt Modern of them have ev'n doubted, whether 'twas an Iſland or *Terra Firma*; infomuch that a great many Authors have written Pro and Con; becauſe having never ſeen the Country, nor any Native of it, they ſpoke of it but by gueſs, juſt as every Man had time and occaſion to conſider the
Matter.

Matter. But afterwards 'twas known for certain, first in the time of the Pro-prætor *Agricola*, and since under the Emperor *Severus*, that it was an Island. *Cæsar* having pass'd into *England*, though he had not all the Success he expected, nevertheless hearing that the *Gauls* were upon Revolting, he took some Hostages from the Natives, who would not deliver to him all he demanded, and repass'd into *Gaul*. About the same time, whether the Rains had swell'd the *Tiber*, or whether the Wind hindred it from discharging it self into the Sea, it overflow'd *Rome* with that Violence, that it beat down abundance of Houses, and destroy'd a world of People.

Cæsar pass'd a second time into *England*, where he vanquish'd the *Barbarians*, impos'd Taxes upon them, then went back to *Gaul*, whither the War call'd him, carrying with him a great number of Hostages. And now *Gaul* being saln again by Lot to *Cæsar*, *Crassus* and *Pompey* had by the same chance, the first *Syria*, and the other *Spain*; or rather they seiz'd upon them by force. *Pompey* sent Lieutenants in his place,

and remain'd at *Rome* to solicit the favour of the People. As for *Crassus*, his excessive Avarice and Passion for Riches, prompted him to lead his Army into the Country of the *Parthians*, though he had had very unlucky Omens in passing the *Euphrates*, at a Place call'd *Zeugma*, since the Passage of *Alexander* ; for the Golden Eagle (the *Romans* call that Eagle so, which is born in a little Canopy at the end of a long Pike, and is carried at the head of those Armies which are compos'd of new Levies, the Pike being pointed below, that it may stick in the Ground.) This Eagle, I say, was very unwilling to pass the *Euphrates* with *Crassus*, but stuck in the Earth, as if it had taken Root, and 'twas with the utmost Force and Violence, that they tore it up from the Ground, and constrain'd it to follow. Yet more, the Bridge broke before all were pass'd ; so that all these things join'd together, putting the Troops into a great Consternation, *Crassus* to recover their Spirits said to them, " Fear nothing, Soldiers :
 " I give you my Oath that none of you
 " shall come back this way, for my De-
 " sign is to return through *Armenia*.
 But those words, *none of you shall come*
back

back, very much encreas'd their fears.

The *Parthians* formerly Inhabited a Country of great extent under the Government of the *Persians*, where they were scarce heard of. But afterwards, upon the declension of that Empire, which the *Macedonians* had made themselves Masters of, the Successors of *Alexander* being extreamly weakned by many intestine Wars and Divisions among themselves, they began then to appear under the Conduct of one *Arfaces*, from whom all their Kings have been since call'd *Arfacides*, and made themselves Masters of *Asia*, over which they a long time rul'd by their *Satrapæ*, or Lieutenants. They are all Archers on Horseback, for which they are fitted by the nature of their Climate. For as the Air is extreamly hot, the strings of their Bows are so much the harder ; add to this the flat, even Countrey, which makes it proper for Horse. They are declar'd Enemies to the *Romans* ; for which reason *Crassus* led his Army against them, and against their King *Oroodes* ; But he was there destroy'd, together with his Son and almost all his Army. The *Parthians* to insult over him

him the more, made him swallow melted Gold, for he was so immensely Rich, and at the same time so excessively Covetous, that he pitied such People as could not entertain a *Roman* Army with their Revenue.

After this the *Parthians* having pierc'd as far as *Antioch*, seiz'd upon all they found in their way; but they were at length repuls'd by *C. Cassius Longinus*, who drove them back into their own Countrey. This was the end of *Cassius* in that War, where the *Romans* receiv'd so prodigious a loss, that Posterity will never lose the memory of it.

After this defeat, the dissensions that arose between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* kindled a dreadful Civil War, which entirely destroy'd the Common-wealth. Many are the causes reported of their Variance, but the strongest of all was Ambition. For tho' *Pompey* at the beginning had favour'd *Cæsar*, yet afterwards his Power and Reputation made him Jealous. In-somuch that after having attempted underhand to thwart his designs, at length he pull'd off the Mask and declar'd openly against him. Thereupon *Cæsar*, who could not suffer any barr to his Authority,

rity, but on the other side aim'd at being absolute Master of the Republick, lett *Gaul*, and march'd with all speed for *Rome*, in order to take *Pompey* unprepar'd. As for himself, having an Army that was us'd to War, and flush'd with many Victories over the *Gauls*, besides the large promises he made them, it might be said that nothing was wanting to him. Which was the reason that oblig'd *Pompey* to leave *Rome*, and afterwards *Italy*, carrying with him almost all the Senate, and all the Treasure, holding all those for Enemies who remain'd at *Rome*, tho' they did not follow *Cæsar's* Party.

When he came to *Durazzo*, he compos'd an Army of Allies, and kept them to constant Exercise. In this interval of Affairs, a great many very remarkable things were said and done by the most considerable Persons of the Republick. But as *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were absolute Masters on their side, our design not being to give a particular relation of Event's, we shall only speak of what pass'd between them two. *Cæsar* having receiv'd the Quality of *Dictator* from the Hands of *Lepidus*, who was afterwards
Triumvir,

Triumvir, resign'd it immediately after he took possession of it ; tho' his Conduct was the very same with that of *Pompey*, doing things with the same independence, as if he had continued in that Power. For both one and the other seeing an Army at their disposition, follow'd nothing but their Passions in all their proceedings. *Cæsar* wanting Money, took out of the Capitol all the costly Ornaments that had been Consecrated to the Gods. Whilst he was Sacrificing one Day to Fortune, the Bull just before the stroke got away, and making out of *Rome*, swam over a Lake that he met in his way. Which made the *Augurs* tell him, that if he stay'd at *Rome*, he would infallibly be undone ; and that on the other side, if he pass'd the Sea, he would be Victorious. Upon this hope, he led his Troops against *Pompey*.

After he had left *Rome*, the Children of the City having divided themselves into two Companies, under the Names of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, made a sort of Fight without Weapons, in which the Party that bore the Name of *Cæsar* remain'd Conqueror. *Cæsar* afterwards landing without the knowledge of *Bibulus*,

Julus, who had the Guard of the Sea, seiz'd upon *Apollonia*, and several other Places in the Neighbourhood of *Pompey*, which he found without Garrisons. This Countrey is extreamly pleasant, and possess'd of every thing one could wish for, having the Sea on one side, and a great many Rivers on the other. But that which I found there most surprizing is, that a fire which rises out of the Earth near a River, which is in the upper part of the Countrey, doth not only not consume the Land about it, but doth not so much as burn the Place from whence it issues out, nor even renders it parch'd and dry, there growing very near it Variety of Herbs and Trees ; nay, the very Rain increases it, and makes the Flame ascend higher. *Cæsar* seeing that *Anthony*, whom he had left at *Brundisium*, to Embark with the rest of his Troops, delay'd coming to him, resolv'd to pass alone into *Italy*. Thus under a borrow'd Name he got into a Boat, pretending that *Cæsar* sent him upon some very urgent Affairs, and oblig'd the Pilot to put to Sea, tho' the Wind was Contrary. They were already got out far from Land, when the Wind increasing, there
arose

arose a very great Storm, upon which the Pilot being afraid, would have put back to shore with all speed, when *Cæsar* discovering himself, said to him, fear nothing, Friend, thou carry'st *Cæsar* with thee ; as if that should have asswag'd the Violence of the Waves. For he question'd so little the Success of his Affairs, whether he relied upon Predictions, or any thing else, that he often hop'd against all appearances. Nevertheless, this time he could not pass over.

Pompey in the mean while being persuaded that he had a pretty good chance for it, if he could come to blows with him, before *Anthony* should joyn him with the rest of the Troops, advanc'd in all hast towards *Apollonia*, and strove to pass the River *Apfus*, near which *Cæsar* was encamp'd : But the Bridge he had laid over it breaking under too great a weight, abundance of his Men who were already pass'd over, were expos'd to the mercy of the Enemy, and were all cut in pieces; which accident perfectly sunk his Courage, seeing his first attempt in this War prove so unsuccessful. *Anthony* arriving upon the neck of this Defeat, put him into such a fright,
that

that he fled to *Durazzo*. For whilst *Bibulus* liv'd, *Anthony* durst never weigh Anchor from the Port of *Brundisium*: But as soon as he was dead, oppress'd with the disquiets and fatigues of War, and *Libo* had succeeded him in his charge of General of the Fleet, whom he did not fear, he immediately put to Sea. *Durazzo* is the *Epidamnus* of the *Corcyrians*, so nam'd by the *Romans*, as some hold, upon the account of several Rocks which are near the Port. For as in Latin *Damnum* signifies Loss and Damage, they gave it that name, which seem'd to promise an ill fate to those who should attempt this Passage.

After *Pompey* was retir'd to *Durazzo*, he pitch'd his Camp without the City, and cover'd it with a Ditch, and a Rampart of Turfs. Some Skirmishes happen'd there, but no action of any Moment. Afterwards *Cæsar* advancing by Night between the Sea and a Morass as far as the City, in hopes to get possession of it by the means of some intelligence he had within, he engag'd himself unwarily in a *Defilé*, where being charg'd all at once in front and rear by a Party that came in Barks to
cut

cut off his Retreat, he lost a great number of his Men, and very narrowly escap'd himself. After which he drew off in great hast towards *Theffaly*.

Pompey took the Title of *Imperator*, as if the War had been done, though at the same time he contain'd himself in the bounds of Modesty, and march'd immediately after *Cæsar* into *Theffaly*, where the two Armies met. *Pompey* would have no Superior, and *Cæsar* no Equal. Both were the greatest Captains of their time, and deserv'd a-like to Command and Conquer. The first could reckon in the number of his Triumphs, *Africa*, *Sertorius*, *Mithridates*, *Tigranes*, and abundance of Naval Victories. On the other side *Cæsar* look'd upon *Gaul*, *Spain*, the *Rhine* and *England*, as so many Trophies of his Valour. In a word, their Ambition having engag'd Armies compos'd of Troops of the same Nation, 'twas a sad spectacle to see People very nearly related, promiscuously slay one another. They call'd each other by their Names, then run one another thro' the Body. Whilst one was plundering another whom he had overcome, he discours'd with him about his Country,
of

of which they were both Natives, and he who fell under the other's Sword, enjoyn'd his Enemy to carry home the news of his Death. *Pompey* appear'd strongest in Horse and Archers, for which reason his Men falling upon the Batalions of *Cæsar* to the Right and Left, made their discharge at a distance, which put *Cæsar*'s Men into some disorder; then turning their Horses about, they charg'd them on another side, never staying long in one place. Those of *Cæsar* to avoid this inconvenience, chang'd their postures continually, went up to the Archers, seiz'd Men and Horses, and remov'd from place to place with the utmost alacrity as there was occasion, having for this purpose some Foot mix'd with their Horse. And as 'twas not only in one place this extraordinary way of Action appear'd, as I have already said; but at the same time in several places with equal Vigour, these near, those at a distance, some Wounding, others receiving Wounds; sometimes flying, and sometimes putting to flight; one would have said, that several Battels were fighting at a time both on Horseback and Foot.

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Whilst

Whilst things were in this condition, a great many extraordinary events fell out. He that was seen to fly a moment before, turn'd upon his Enemy and put him to flight: No sooner had one wounded another, but himself receiv'd a mortal blow. He that was standing over his foe, was often kill'd by him that he had laid flat. A great number were stiff'd without receiving any Wounds, and they who had scarce strength to stand, were eager to shed Blood. Here they sung and made shouts of Joy, there they groan'd and deplor'd their Misfortunes. In a word, there was nothing but despair and ruin throughout. But after they had fought a long time with equal advantage on both sides, the Army of *Pompey*, which was for the most part compos'd of Men pick'd up in *Asia*, and by consequence not practis'd in War, was defeated. His Misfortune had been presag'd to him by the Thunder that fell in his Camp, and by the Bees that came and pitch'd upon his Standards. *Cæsar* us'd his Victory with Moderation, and treated the Senators civilly, who had follow'd the contrary Party. In stead of reading those Letters

ters which he found among *Pompey's* Papers, he generously burnt them all, lest he should discover things which he must have been oblig'd to punish. This Action got him the affection of a world of People of the contrary Party.

Pompey thought himself so secure of Victory, that he had not taken the least precaution, for he had neither posted himself in an advantagious place, nor secured a Retreat in case of an Overthrow. Besides, though he might have gain'd his point by using delays, yet whether he did it by his own opinion, as believing he was Invincible, or whether his Men oblig'd him to it, he gave Battel against all the Rules of War. So that this Defeat sunk him at once, and put him into such a Dilemma, that he did not know what course to take for the recovery of his Affairs. When fear has once seiz'd upon a Man, 'tis out of his power to resolve upon any thing for his Advantage, whereas when he is prepar'd for all Accidents, he is secure from all the impressions of fear, without which he must not hope for a *Resource*. Thus *Pompey* having left a Country fortified by Nature, fled into *Egypt*,

where he was treacherously kill'd. The *Egyptians* after this execrable Action, fell under the Dominion of *Cleopatra*, whom they would never acknowledge before for their Sovereign, and soon after under the Government of the *Romans*. I had a mind to interrupt the thread of the History, to shew that so treacherous an Action did not remain unpunished.

Caius Julius Cæsar.

Pompey, after having pass'd for the greatest Man that ever was among the *Romans*, insomuch that he was call'd a second *Agamemnon*; because like him he had commanded four thousand Ships, was kill'd the eighth day after that, in which he had formerly triumph'd over *Mithridates* and the *Corsairs*. One thing is remarkable enough, *Pompey* had been mistrustful of all those who bore the name of *Cassius*, upon the account of a certain Oracle which had warn'd him to beware of a *Cassius*; yet not one of them ever made attempt upon his Life; but

but he was Assassinated and buried at the foot of a Mountain of the same Name. As for *Cæsar*, fortune was so propitious to all his undertakings, that falling once into the Fleet of *Pompey*, as he cross'd the *Hellespont* in a Frigate, he not only receiv'd no damage, but further it struck the Enemy with so great a Consternation, that the whole Fleet surrendred to him immediately. *Pompey's* Head being brought to him upon his arrival in *Egypt*, the sight of it drew tears from his Eyes; but these outward marks of grief were ridiculous in him. For though he had always aim'd at the Sovereign Power, he would at the same time have it thought that he pitied him, whom he had declar'd open War against for this very reason: Nay, in such hast was he to be at the Head of all, that he pursu'd *Pompey* with great diligence into *Egypt*, with no other design than to get rid of him wheresoever he could find him. Having afterwards got *Athens* into his possession, by the means of *Calvinus* the Governor, (for now *Pompey* was dead, they made no Resistance.) He granted them a general Pardon for all that was

past, adding, that he forgave their former Hostilities, in consideration of their Ancestors. He sent to *Rome* Pompey's Ring, upon which three Triumphs were engrav'd, like that which *Sylla* us'd to wear, that the *Romans* might no longer doubt of his Death.

In the mean time being captivated with the charms of *Cleopatra*, he stay'd long in *Egypt*, and gave a loose to his Passion. For he was naturally prone to love, and so much did he give way to it, that he was concern'd with a world of Women as occasions offer'd. But *Cleopatra* was the handsomest of them all; for besides the blooming Age she then was in, she had a Speech so very graceful, that 'twas impossible to converse with her, without being immediately captivated by her. She had at that time a difference with her Brother, which was referr'd to the Arbitration of *Cæsar*. But the cause having depended pretty long, she was resolv'd to come in Person to take care of her Business, saying, her Lawyers betray'd her. As soon as *Cæsar* saw her, and heard her speak, he was instantly in love with her; whereupon summoning her Brother up-
on

on the place, he rather acted the part of an Advocate for the Princess, than judge between them both. Insomuch, that the young Man equally surpris'd with this proceeding, and to see his Sister of a sudden in a place where he did not expect her, fled away in anger to the People who were assembled, and cried out that he was sold.

Cæsar had all the difficulty imaginable that day to pacifie the *Egyptians*, and to hinder them from Rising. Nay, a little after, (having no Soldiers about him, because he had dispers'd them into several places of *Syria*, thinking he should have no occasion for them in these parts) he ran a very great risque; *Achillas*, who govern'd the Country at that time, having taken up Arms against him. For having once upon some occasion put to death several of the Inhabitants of the Suburbs of *Pharo*, where he had been, those of the other side seeing the Disturbance, immediately threw Bridges over the Water, and ran to the Assistance of their Country-men. They had no sooner pass'd over, but they fell upon the *Romans*, and kill'd a great number of them upon the spot, driving the

rest to their Ships, where several fell headlong into the Sea, as they press'd to get a-board, among them *Cæsar* himself, who was in great danger. His Habit did him more hurt, than any thing else; for it being of a purple colour, 'twas easier for the *Egyptians* to distinguish it, and to shoot at it. So that he was oblig'd to throw off his Vest, to save himself; after which, he got up into a Bark. Thus he escap'd without so much as wetting those Papers, as he swam, which he held in his left Hand. The *Egyptians* hung his Vest upon a Trophy, which they rais'd upon this occasion. But some Troops coming to him after this, he possess'd himself of the whole Country in general, and gave it to *Cleopatra*, for whose sake alone he had drawn this War upon himself.

Afterwards quitting *Egypt*, to lead his Army against *Pharnaces*, Son of *Mithridates*, who had seiz'd upon the Province of *Pontus*, he vanquish'd him the same day he arriv'd in view of his Troops, after which he return'd into *Italy*. *Cæsar* took Money where-ever he could find it; his Maxim was, that in order to attain to a high degree of Power, to
keep

keep it, and to increase it, 'twas absolutely necessary to have two things, Money and Soldiers, which are as it were, a consequence of each other : For by Money Soldiers are kept to their Duty, and by the means of Soldiers you get wherewithal to pay them; nor had he these Sentiments only in his Mouth, but he was strongly perswaded of the necessity of them.

When he was come to *Rome*, the Troops he had left in *Campania*, in order to their passing from thence into *Africa*, advanc'd towards the City, putting all to the Sword that came in their way. At the first news of their March, he was about to send the *Pretorian* Bands against them; but afterwards fearing lest they might be debauch'd too, he gave over that design, and contented himself with deputing some Soldiers to them, while they were in the Suburbs, to know who led them, and what they demanded. To which having answered, that they would tell no body but *Cæsar*; he commanded them to come to him, without other Arms than their Swords, which he knew they would not have quitted, and so let them enter the

the City. When they were come into his Presence, they began with great earnestness to ask him for their Discharge, representing to him all their former Services, the fatigues they had undergone, and that hitherto they had received none of the Rewards they expected. 'Twas not their intention to leave the War for a private Life, but they thought to frighten *Cæsar*, and by that means to oblige him to grant them what they desir'd. But *Cæsar* contrary to what they expected, said to them ; there is reason in what you ask, and you have your liberty from this Moment. Thus he discharg'd them all, as if they had been no longer necessary to him, after having paid them the last farthing that was due to them, and promis'd the usual rewards to those, who had serv'd their time. This proceeding surpriz'd them so much, that of a sudden they chang'd their Language and Opinion, and promis'd him Wonders for the time to come ; but he flatly refus'd their Service, saying, that he had no further business for them, in which he spoke against his Thoughts, for he stood extremely in need of them. Thereup-
on

on redoubling their Instances, and asking pardon for the Disorders they had committed, after several refusals he suffered himself to be workt upon, so that after dismissing some of the most Mutinous among them, he took the rest again into his Service. 'Twas his way, when he had discover'd any that were given to Sedition in his Army, to get rid of them upon occasions, that serv'd to weaken his Enemies as much.

Afterwards with that accustomed diligence that had so great a share in all his Successes, he cross'd the Sea in the midst of Winter, and pass'd into *Africk*, where as he was getting out of the Ship he happen'd to fall, which accident his Soldiers took for a very ill Omen, inso-much, that the fear it cast them into, put them all into disorder. But *Cæsar*, without being in the least surpriz'd, pretending to have falln on purpose, took up some of the Earth in his Hands, and kissing it, said, Now thou art mine, *O Africa*. At this time the whole Country was under obedience to *Cato* and *Scipio*, who had made a close Alliance with *Juba*, King of *Lybia*. Though the first had the most Wisdom and Sagacity,

ty; yet as *Scipio* had the advantage of Birth and Employments, the other yielded to him the command of the Army.

But *Cæsar* having at length defeated him, *Juba* entred into so great a Consternation, that *Petreibus Scipio's* Lieutenant, despairing also to obtain any Quarter; they fought together Man to Man, with a design that both should fall upon the place, in order to deliver themselves from their common Enemy.

Cæsar afterwards left in *Africa Salust* the Historian, seemingly to govern it, but in effect to pillage the Country, as it appear'd by the consequence. For though he has very much exclaim'd in his Writings, against those who make Concussions in their Provinces; yet 'tis evident, that his Actions did not agree with his Words. There were great complaints against him, which *Cæsar* took no care to redress, though he has sufficiently accus'd himself by his History. After this Victory, the *Romans* who were extreamly afraid of *Cæsar*, as they had been before, decreed him very great Honours. Among the rest they set up
his

his Statue upon a Globe of Brass, with this Inscription, *To the Demi God*. He triumph'd four days together for his Victory over the *Gauls*, *Egypt*, *Pharnaces*, and *Juba*; Queen *Arfinoe* her self being in the number of his Captives. Though all the World was amaz'd at the variety and greatness of the things he had done; yet the Soldiers did not cease to ridicule him, and to rally him about his Amours with *Cleopatra*, as well as for what had pass'd heretofore in his youth, between him and *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*. Nay, they sung publicly, *Cesar* has subdued the *Gauls*, but *Nicomedes* has subdued *Cæsar*. They also cried in all the corners of the Streets, If you act well, *Cæsar*, you shall be punish'd; but if otherwise, you shall reign. Their meaning was, if he gave the Republick its liberty, which they esteem'd just, he should be punish'd for having broke the Laws; but if on the other side, he kept the Sovereign Power (which was according to them the action of a bad Citizen) his Authority would still subsist. But though he could excuse what they said, with relation to his Amours with
Cleo-

Cleopatra; yet he could not suffer the reproaches they made him about *Nicomedes*; nay, 'twas so very uneasie to him, that he offer'd to clear himself by Oath, which serv'd to make him but the more ridiculous.

The last day of the Feast he left the People, and came all cover'd with Flowers into the place of his own Name, from whence he was conducted home by a vast number of People, with abundance of Flambeaux carried by Elephants. He gave afterwards several publick Shews of all kinds, in the Theatre which he built on purpose for the destruction of Beasts. It has been since call'd *Amphitheatre*, because it has seats all round, without any rais'd place in the middle. It would be too tedious to give a *detail* of all the Beasts that appear'd at that time: But as 'twas the first time that a *Camelopardal* was seen at *Rome*, it may not be improper to speak a word of it. It perfectly resembles a Camel with this reserve, that it has no proportion between its Members: For its hinder Legs are smaller than those before, so that to take it from the Tail to the Head, which it bears

bears a-loft, one would fay as to the reft, that it riles by little and little. His Skin is spotted like that of a Leopard, which is the reason that his name is compos'd of that of both thofe Animals.

Among other Combats that were feen at thefe Shews, there were Men who fought upon forty Elephants, and there was the diversion of a Sea-fight, not upon the Sea, but in the Field of *Mars*, where after they had fill'd a vaft deep place with Water, which they had dug on purpofe, they brought Ships into it; the Combatants were the Prifoners, and condemn'd Criminals. Yet further, there were Turnaments on Horfeback, which are commonly call'd *Games of Troy*, where young Men of the firft Quality, ran after the ancient manner againft others of the fame Age and Condition in Chariots. Though the great number of People that were kill'd in all thefe Shews, render'd *Cæfar* extreamly odious, inafmuch as 'twas thought very ftrange, that he fhould not be fatisfied yet with Blood and Slaughter: Yet this was nothing to the indignation they conceiv'd, at the vaft fums of
Money

Money which they saw swallowed up in these ridiculous Expences, insomuch that every body said publicly, that he would never have put it to such Uses, if he had not got it by Violence and Injustice. For a mark of the Magnificence he shew'd upon this occasion, that the Sun might not incommode the Company, he cover'd all the Theatre with a Fence of Silk. The *Barbarians* were the first inventors of these sorts of Works, and have introduc'd the use of them among us, so that now our Women wear them as Ornaments. Afterwards the Soldiers mutiny'd, and would not be compos'd till *Cæsar* went among them, and seiz'd upon one of them himself, whom he order'd to be severely punish'd. He made also several Laws; among the rest, 'twas he who put the Year into the order we find it at present, by adding seven Days, which seem'd to be wanting to make it compleat, to the sixty which were added before; for formerly the *Months* were govern'd by the course of the Moon, which caus'd a world of Confusion. He took this design when he was at *Alexandria*, where the same was in use, with this reserve,
that

that the *Egyptians* make all their Months consist of thirty days, and add afterwards every fifth year, the day which the six hours make up, which remain from each of the preceding years. By this means he made the year perfect within some few Minutes, which will make but one day, and that must come in after 1461.

Afterwards he march'd against the Sons of *Pompey*, who had kindled a great War in *Spain*. The Fight was very sharp, and the advantage so long disputed on both sides, that the two Chief seeing all was at stake, quitted their Horses, and rush'd on among the rest. But at length *Bogud*, who till then was unconcern'd, falling upon *Pompey's* Camp behind, *Labienus* left the Battel to march against him; which making those of his Party believe he fled, their Spirits sunk entirely; nor was it possible to recover them, though they had learnt the occasion of his going.

This was *Cæsar's* last Victory, tho' he had hopes still of making many Conquests more; because soon after this Defeat a *Palm* was seen to spring up of a sudden in the Field of Battel. But

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this

this happy presage was not for him, for it related to *Octavius*, the Son of his Sister, who then serv'd in his Troops. 'Twas he who was to mount to the utmost height of Glory, thro' infinite dangers and fatigues. When he saw himself in peaceful possession of the Sovereign Power, he got the Senate to make a Decree, that he might have leave to wear a Royal Robe in Assemblies, and a Crown of Laurel, alledging for a reason, that he was bald. He began also to be more costly in his Habit than he was wont, wearing a red Sash, and often hanging loose; which appear'd so suspicious to *Sylla*, that he would fain have put him in the number of the proscrib'd for that reason, saying to some who interceded in his favour; " For your sakes I grant him
 " his Life, but have a care of this Man that
 " is so ill girt: And though *Cicero* did not comprehend the thing then, yet afterwards when he heard of the Defeat of *Pompey*, He said, " I should never
 " have thought *Pompey* would have been
 " overcome by a Man so ill girt. 'Twas order'd by a Decree, that *Cæsar* should always for the future bear the Name of
Empe-

Emperor, not as 'tis given to those who have won a great Battel, or to such Persons who are put into a high degree of Power; but in the sense the word is taken at present, and as 'tis applied to those who are absolute Masters of the Empire. Wherefore we shall look upon *Cæsar* for the future, as the first of the *Roman Emperors*, and then we shall speak of the rest in their order. They also set one of his Statues of Ivory, next to that of *Brutus*, who had formerly extirpated the Kings: Which makes an event surprizing enough, inasmuch as he was kill'd by *Marcus Brutus*, who was deriv'd from the first. Among other Innovations he made in the Laws, he created several Consuls every year; so that he who was in Office dying the last day of the year, he substituted *Caninius* in his place, which made *Cicero* say very pleasantly; "that the Republick had had a Consul
 " so vigilant and active, that he did not
 " sleep one Moment all the time he
 " held his place. Afterwards he rebuilt *Carthage* and *Corinth*, two very ancient Cities, and very flourishing heretofore, that had been ruin'd by the *Romans*, and and repopled them with new Colonies.

So that after having been demolish'd together, they began to flourish again at the same time.

As he was meditating to make War upon the *Parthians*, *Marcus Brutus*, and *Caius Cassius*, prepar'd an Ambush for him, in which he miserably perish'd by the result of a furious and head-strong Counsel, as the Author of this History pretends: But a Senator and a Man of Quality, who compos'd a fine History, could not speak otherwise. For the truth of the thing is (as *Plutarch* very well remarks in his *Parallels*) that they engag'd in this Enterprize upon a mature deliberation, and had no other end in executing so bold a stroke, than to deliver themselves and the Republick from the infamous slavery they groan'd under; and this is what no body ever made a doubt of. Yet *Dion* pretends that Monarchy is preferable to the *Popular State*, and exerts himself to prove it by plausible arguments. The Power of *Rome*, says he, being so great, that it govern'd all the finest and largest Countreys of the Earth, the diversity of Customs which met among so great a mixture of People, joyn'd to the abundance of Riches, form'd such a variety of Interests

ests and Fortunes, as well publick as private, that 'twas impossible things could remain long in that Mediocrity they ought to be. Yet more, he adds, that 'tis much easier to find one Good Man, than several; and that after all, there was less to be fear'd under the Tyranny of one, than that of many.

The same Author writes, that Flatterers were the true occasion of *Cæsar's* Death; for after they had given him extraordinary Honours, which fill'd him with Vanity, they were afterwards the first who ridicul'd him. They began by calling the Month in which he was born, *Julius*; then they styl'd him *God* in his presence, even *Jupiter*. After that they built him a Temple, and made *Anthony* Priest to preside at the Ceremonies, like another *Flamen Dialis*, ordering all his Decrees to be Ingrav'd in Pillars of Silver. They heap'd upon him all these Honours one upon another, because finding he receiv'd them with pleasure, refusing but very few, they thought partly to make their Court by that means, and partly to render him odious, that the hatred he should draw upon himself might ruine him, as it a su-

ally fell out a little after. Nevertheless, he refus'd the Name of King, which some had given him. But when the Tribunes pretended to enquire after those who had us'd this piece of flattery in order to punish them, having boldly taken off the Diadem which had been set upon the Head of his Statue, he was so inrag'd at it, that he depriv'd them of the Authority which accompanied their Offices, and drove them out of the Senate ; which made it suspected that he aim'd at the Royalty, but would not seem to accept of it unless 'twere forc'd upon him, for which reason every body conceiv'd the last indignation against him. So far was it carried that some wrote at the foot of the Statue of *Lucius Brutus*; ' Would to Heaven thou wert
 ' still Alive : And at the Tribunal of
 ' *Marcus Brutus*, who was then *Pretor*
 ' of the City ; you sleep, *Brutus* ; you
 ' are not a *Brutus* ; in the mean time
 ' we want a *Brutus*. But that which rendred him more odious was his Arrogance : For the Senate coming once to Salute him in a Body, he receiv'd them without rising from his Seat. Some would have excus'd him, and said he was
 at

at that time tormented with the Cholick, which relish'd with very few, because immediately after, he return'd home on Foot.

His Death was presag'd by abundance of Prodigies. The Arms of *Mars* (which were kept according to the Ancient Statutes in his House, as being Chief Priest) made a Noise, and the Doors of the Room where he lay, open'd of their own accord. But he minded these Prognosticks very little, saying in rally, that Day he was kill'd to an *Augur*, who had advis'd him to beware of a certain Day, well, said he, 'Where are all your Predictions now? Don't you see that I'm alive upon the Day you told me of? To which the other answer'd, That indeed the Day was come, but not pass'd. The Conspirators having surrounded him in the Senate, fell upon him altogether, and kill'd him with several strokes.

'Tis reported, 'That he said to *Marcus Brutus*, as he struck him, what my Son, are you in the Conspiracy too? After his Death, *Lepidus* went immediately with a Guard to seize upon the Publick Place, under pretence, he

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said,

said, of revenging the Murder, but indeed to make a disturbance, and to usurp if he could an absolute Power. As to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, they went up to the Capitol. In the mean time, all *Rome* was in a terrible Combustion. *Cicero* restor'd Peace and Union among the *Romans* by a Speech, which he made to them upon the occasion. *Anthony* was assisting in the Reconciliation, not that he was dispos'd to Peace, but because being then out of all Employment, he had no mind that Tumults and Disorders should give any other an occasion to seize upon the Sovereign Power, which he aim'd at for himself. *Brutus* and *Cassius*, descending together from the Capitol, the first went to the House of *Lepidus*, who was his Kinsman, and the other to that of *Anthony*: On which occasion 'tis reported, that as they were at Supper together, among other things that were said at this meeting, *Anthony* having ask'd *Cassius* if he had not still a Dagger under his Cloak; yes, said he, a very long one, which I shall make use of against you, if ever you attempt to oppress the Publick.

After

After the reading of *Cæsar's* Will, by which he gave two Crowns a Man to every Citizen, his Body being expos'd in the *Forum*, *Anthony* made his Funeral Oration, which mov'd the People to that Degree, that they immediately burnt the Body in the very Place, and afterwards interr'd his Ashes, then raising an Altar to him, they Sacrific'd to him as to a God. Nay, their Rage transported them so far, as to prompt them to go and to find out his Murderers ; In their way they put to Death *Helvius Cinna*, the Tribune, upon a mistake of the Name, for another *Cinna* that was one of the Conspirators. In a word, the disorder did not cease till the Consuls had pull'd down the Altar, and condemn'd some of the most seditious to be thrown headlong from the *Capitol*. They decreed also by a Law to be for ever inviolable, that they would create no more *Dictators* for the time to come : As if 'twere the Name that was odious, and not the Violence of Arms, the Corruption of Manners, and the ill use of their Authority who were at the Helm, that were to be found fault with. I must not forget that in this Tumult, *Caius Casca*, the
Tribune

Tribune hearing what had happen'd to *Cinna*, was apprehensive of the same Fate himself, because *Publius Servilius*, one of the Tribunes, was likewise one of the Assassins: Whereupon, he got a Writing to be posted up, by which he declar'd, that tho' they were Relations, they had nevertheless been of a different Opinion on this occasion.

Anthony being charg'd with the Executorship in *Cæsar's* Will, as soon as he was Master of his Papers and Memoirs, he began first of all by raizing out several things in order to insert others in their place, committing a World of Concessions, and extorting Money from private Men, Communities and Kings, selling Lands to some, to others Freedom, and to several an exemption from Tribute. In a word, as he made no Account of *Octavius*, whom he look'd upon as a Young Man without Experience, he not only seiz'd upon all the Treasure *Cæsar* had left, as if he had been his Heir, but also his Power. And because he saw *Lepidus* was in great Credit, he gave his Daughter in Marriage to his Son, and got him the Dignity of *Chief Priest*, in order to oblige him by that,
not

not to penetrate too far into his designs. We shall now speak of the other Emperors in their order, and divide this History into as many parts, as *Rome* has seen Successors of *Julius Cæsar* upon the Throne.

Octavius Cæsar, Augustus.

CAius Octavius Cæpius, (for so was the Son of *Attia* call'd, the Daughter of a Sister of *Cæsar*) was Born at *Velitræ*, a City in the Kingdom of *Naples*. Losing his Father in his Infancy, he was brought up by his Mother and his Father in Law *L. Philippus*, till being arriv'd towards Manhood, he applyed himself to *Cæsar*, who having no Children, and besides conceiving great hopes of this Young Man, lov'd him extreamly, and Educated him with great Care, looking upon him as the Inheritor of his Name, his Estate, and all his Power. To which he had so much the more inclination, as *Attia* had declar'd upon Oath, that she had conceiv'd him by *Apollo*, saying, that one Day as she was asleep

asleep in the Temple of that God, she Dreamt that she was Carnally known by a Dragon, and that she lay In exactly according to the usual time. Yet more, before she was Deliver'd, she dreamt again that her Intrails were carried to Heaven, from whence they spread themselves over all the World; and her Husband likewise dreamt, that a Sun came out of his Wife's Belly. As soon as he was Born, *Nigidius Figulus* foretold, that he would be Emperor.

He was a Man well vers'd in Astrology, and who perfectly knew the course of the Stars, as well as their Effects and Influences, whether by themselves, or their various Conjunctions; so far was he skill'd in them, that 'twas suspected he knew too much, several People believing that his knowledge extended to *Magick*. One Day seeing *Octavius* come to the Senate a little later than the rest, by reason of the Birth of his Son, he said to him, you have begot a *Master* for us. *Octavius* troubled at what he said, would have kill'd his Son, but he prevented him by telling him, that 'twas not his Fate to dye after that manner. Afterwards as he was brought up in the
Country

Countrey while he was very young, an Eagle snatch'd his Bread out of his Hands, and flew up in the Air very high, then coming down again return'd it to him. When he was at *Rome* a very Child, *Cicero* also dreamt, that he saw him Hanging over the *Capitol* by a Chain of Gold which reach'd to Heaven, and that *Jupiter* had put a Whip into his Hands. Tho' he did not know his Person, meeting him the next Day in the *Capitol*, he remembred his Face, and told his Dream to those who were with him. *Catulus*, who had likewise never seen *Octavius*, had a Dream too that all the Children of Quality in *Rome*, coming near the Statue of *Jupiter* which was in the *Capitol*, the God threw into *Octavius's* Lap a Plan of the City of *Rome*. Upon which *Catulus* being very much amaz'd, he went next Morning to pray in the *Capitol*, where meeting *Octavius*, he recollected his Face so well, that he was very sure 'twas the same whom he had seen in his sleep. Yet further, when he had attain'd the Age that qualified him for the *Toga Virilis*, as he was going to put it on, 'twas all open above, and flipt down to his Feet : Which seeming of it self to be a very ill presage,

presage, struck all that were by into a confusion, because this Misfortune happen'd to his first Robe. But he, without reflecting upon it, said immediately, 'I shall infallibly see all the Senators, and their Authority at my Feet ; as indeed it fell out.

All these things joyn'd together, made *Cæsar* entertain great hopes of him ; so that after he had introduc'd him into the order of *Patritians*, he prepar'd him for the *Magistracy*, and omitted nothing that was necessary to render him capable of governing one Day so vast an Empire ; for he did not only practise to speak publicly in *Latin*, but also in *Greek* ; his Body was enured to the hardships and fatigues of War, and in a word, he was taught all that was expedient for the well governing the Republick, and for the filling all sorts of Employments with Reputation.

When *Cæsar* was kill'd, he was at *Apollonia*, a Town situated on the banks of the *Adriatick*, whither his Uncle had sent him to finish his Studies, whilst himself should be engag'd in the *Parthian* War. Having receiv'd the News of his Death, and hearing at the same time that he

he had appointed him his Heir, he judg'd there was no time to be lost; whereupon, he immediately took the Name of *Cæsar*, accepted the Succession, and entred upon the Administration. Thus he who was before call'd *Octavius*, and was then call'd *Cæsar*, and afterwards *Augustus*, began from this time to manage the most important Affairs, in which he shew'd more Vigour and Ability than those of full Age, and more Prudence than Men of a consummate Experience. He entred first into *Rome* as a private Man, with a small Retinue, and without any Pomp, as if he came upon no other design than to put himself in possession of *Cæsar's* Inheritance.

Afterwards he caress'd *Anthony*, notwithstanding the wrongs he had receiv'd from him, and endeavour'd by all sorts of ways to ingratiate himself with the People. Among others, one Day being about to make a Speech to them in the *Forum* from a rais'd Place, as his Father us'd to do, *Anthony* hindred him, and made the *Lictors* take him away by force. Several were asham'd of the Action, so much the more because *Octavius* refrain'd from coming thither afterwards, with a design

design to render *Anthony* odious on one side, and on the other to gain the People to his Interest, which putting *Anthony* in fear, he desir'd to be reconcil'd to *Cæsar*; but he broke with him a second time upon some Suspicions.

While things stood thus between *Anthony* and *Octavius*, the Senate granted a general Pardon to *Sextus Pompeius*, second Son of *Cneius*, and order'd him the restitution of that Money, which grew from the Inheritance of his Father, and which had been put into the Treasury as confiscated to the Republick. He had then a great Army on foot, with which after having defeated *C. Asinius Pollio* in that part of *Spain*, which is call'd *Granada*, he had made himself Master of the greatest part of the Country, either by fair means or force. In the mean time *Anthony* who had got all his Lands and Country-Houses, refusing to part with them, *Lepidus* who was Governor of the other part of *Spain*, advis'd *Sextus* to make Peace with *Anthony*, in order to the more easie obtaining of his Estate from him. And now the Dissentions of *Cæsar* and *Anthony*, had set *Rome* in

regretted the loss of *Julius Cæsar*, whose Reign they call'd the Golden Age. They expos'd in publick other Tables, by which indeed they did not condemn any one to Death; but they robb'd those who remain'd alive, of all they were worth. For under pretence of a Contribution of the Tenth of every Man's Estate which they ask'd, (as they said) of the Citizens, when it came to the fact, they hardly left them a tenth part. They likewise built a Tomb to *Julius Cæsar*, in the middle of the *Forum* with an *Asylum*, that should be for ever inviolable, whatsoever Crime had been committed, and pull'd down the House in which he was kill'd.

After they had done all these things, *Lepidus* remain'd at *Rome*, while *Cæsar* and *Anthony* march'd against *Brutus* and *Cassius*. For as soon as they heard that the Republick was no longer govern'd, but by the caprice of those two, they left the Provinces that had fallen to them by Lot, and went the first to *Macedon*, and the other to *Syria*, inasmuch as those two Provinces were not only very commodious for making War, but were likewise full of Men and Money.

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They possess'd themselves of them immediately, without striking a stroke, and afterwards made themselves Masters of all *Asia*, partly by consent, and partly by force; for among the several Magistrates that were then in the Provinces, some came over to *Brutus* immediately, in consideration of his Vertue and Merit, and the rest being for *Cæsar* and *Anthony*, would have made Resistance, but were easily overcome. *Dolabella*, he who after having kill'd *Trebonius* by surprise at *Smirna*, threw his Head at the foot of *Cæsar's* Statue, because he had been one of the Assassins, was of the number. There was also in *Macedon* one of the Brothers of *Anthony*, whom he had sent thither, to command the Army. All these Officers were astonish'd at the progress of *Brutus*, and at the extraordinary Honours that were paid him in every City as he pass'd. At *Athens* the Inhabitants by common consent erected Statues of Brass to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and plac'd them near those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. That which help'd extreamly to advance their Affairs, was, that they shew'd themselves very averse to the

the cruelty of the *Triumvirs*, especially *Brutus*. Besides they gave an account of all their Actions to the Senate, and paid a deference to their orders upon all occasions, which made that Assembly ratifie all they did to the last moment of their Liberty. And now hearing the Senate was reduc'd under an infamous servitude, and that *Rome* swam in the Blood of her Citizens, they united their forces, and march'd in great hast with a design to put it to a trial by Battel, whether their Country should recover its Liberty, or remain in Slavery.

The Army of *Anthony* was on its march before they left *Asia*, so that after having pass'd the *Adriatick*, it came and incamp'd near *Philippi*, a City of *Macedon*, where *Brutus* and *Cassius* arriving from *Asia*, pitch'd their Camp also on the other side. They divided their Camp for the convenience of their Troops, that they might be less *embarrassé*, and with greater ease be drawn out ; at the same time covering both with a Palissade and a Ditch, so that they were both inclos'd in the same Line, which secur'd them equally from all attacks.

The two Armies being thus encamp'd over against each other, they spent some time in Skirmishing, after which they came at length to a general Bat-tel. It was preceded by several prodigies, that clearly enough presag'd the success they were to expect, and the ruine of the Commonwealth, to which Heaven had decreed to give a better form of Government, by making a Monarchy of a Popular State: For at the point things were then, there was no possibility that the People could live in Peace and Union, inasmuch as in a Commonwealth where the People govern, when the Power is arriv'd to a very high pitch of Greatness, it is impossible that they who compose that Power, should remain long in that Mediocrity which is the Soul of a Republick. So that there is no doubt but the *Romans* without this change, must have been engag'd in so many Wars, that their strength being entirely exhausted, they would have fall'n at length under a foreign Power. Nevertheless, I shall not undertake to mention all the Prodigies that happened, but shall leave them to those that are curious after such things.

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In my Opinion *Dion* had done much better, if he had not insisted upon them so much, but had in that respect followed the Example of *Polybius*; for tho' he has written the History of the Captivity of *Carthage* and of *Greece*, as well as of all the misfortunes which the *Romans* suffer'd heretofore in their Wars with *Hanibal*, yet he never troubled himself with the relation of such Prognosticks, and the like Presages of the Ruine of Cities. If *Dion* was of opinion, that they were all Fables, he is very blameable since his Book is fill'd with them: If on the contrary, he believed them to be true, the omission of them had been very pardonable in him, in as much as they have no relation to the connexion of the History.

As for what remains, of all those things which fell out in the time of *Cæsar* and *Anthony*, I shall only mention what seem'd in my opinion to foretel the change of the Constitution. Some Rivers in *Italy* turn'd their course against their very Springs, and others grew perfectly dry. Now for the particulars of the Fight. A Trumpet of each side immediately sounded the Charge, then

lowder by degrees, and at length all together to put a Life into the Soldiers, and this being followed by a mighty silence, they began again to sound louder than before ; after which, the two Armies making a great shout fell on with the utmost fury. Those who were arm'd at all points parry'd the Launces with their Bucklers, and endeavour'd at the same time to wound their Enemies. On the other side, the Slingers and Archers pour'd a shower of Stones and Arrows, while the Horse made an effort to trample down the Foot that were heavily Arm'd : Thus they fought for some time. And now the Battel grew very hot, and they were come on all sides to their Swords. At first every one was for managing his blows, and endeavour'd to hurt his Enemy without laying himself open at the same time. But when their Courages were a little warm'd, as it usually happens upon such occasions, they rush'd into the Battel pell mell, one among another ; they no longer examin'd things, and they were often kill'd before they felt themselves hurt. Thus they never heard the Cries of those who were dying, because they expir'd almost
without

without feeling any pain. Yet more, both Armies stood firm without retiring one step backward. It was not necessary to take ground to pursue the flying, and they fell, or kill'd in the same place where the Battel first began, so very obstinate were the Combatants, that they often fell upon the very Bodies which they had slain but a moment before. The Fight continu'd thus till the latter end of the Day. So that there is reason to believe if *Brutus* had met *Anthony* Hand to Hand, and *Cassius Cæsar*, they would have parted without any advantage of either side. But as *Brutus* easily defeated *Cæsar*, who was not strong enough for him, and *Anthony* put *Cassius* to the Rout, who was not comparable to him in the experience of War, one may say, that they all retir'd Conquerors and Conquered. The Camp of *Cæsar* and *Anthony* was taken and pillaged with all that was in it, *Cæsar* having escap'd the danger miraculously. For a little before the Battel his Physitian told him, that he had had a Dream which gave him to understand, that 'twas adviseable for him to quit the Camp. *Cassius* on the other side sav'd himself after having lost his

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Camp,

Camp, but thinking *Brutus* had been defeated too, and besides seeing some of the Conquerors, as he judg'd, make towards him, he kill'd himself. Afterwards tho' *Brutus* had rallied the Troops of *Cassius*, yet he did not judge it proper to come to a second Engagement, because he hoped to defeat the Enemy without loss of Blood by spinning out the War. He endeavour'd to incommode them during the Night ; He turn'd the course of a River and drowned their Camp.

In the mean time *Cæsar* and *Anthony* had neither Provisions nor Money, so that they had nothing to give the Soldiers to make them amends for the loss of their Baggage, which had been taken with their Camp. Besides, their Naval Army had been defeated by *Brutus*. Thus all their hope was in the chance of Arms, not only for Victory but Life : Which made them seek all occasions to Fight, how disadvantageous soever they appear'd. On the other side the Soldiers of *Brutus* beginning to desert, he was oblig'd to do the same thing. Both Armies were already in sight of each other, when two Eagles seem'd to decide the Success of the Battel : For as they were
fighting

fighting in the Air, that which appear'd to be on the side of *Brutus* was vanquish'd. After his defeat, his Soldiers sav'd themselves in several places, and tho' the Victors pursu'd them, yet they did not kill a Man, nor made any Prisoners. They were contented with Guarding all the Avenues, that the Conquer'd might not be able to rally a second time. *Brutus* seeing his Affairs desperate, thought 'twould be infamous for him to fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies, whereupon to avoid that disgrace, he was resolv'd to put an end to his Life. Thus after having pronounc'd those Verses that a Poet makes *Hercules* speak,

*O Vertue, Thou who hast too long possess'd
An uncontroul'd Dominion in my Breast,
I thought thy worth proportion'd to thy
Fame,
But now I find thou'rt nothing but a Name.*

He desir'd one of his Servants to run him through. *Anthony* order'd that Funeral Obsequies should be perform'd to his Body. His Head was sent to *Rome*, but a dreadful Tempest arising as they were

were conveying it between *Durazzo* and *Italy*, they were oblig'd to throw it into the Sea. His Wife upon the News of his Death swallow'd live Coals, and so died. Among a great number of People of Quality who follow'd the Party of *Brutus*, several chose rather to kill themselves, than to be taken Prisoners. *Favonius* a great Friend of *Cato's* was one, the rest went over to *Sextus* in *Sicily*.

Anthony went afterwards into *Asia* to fill his Coffers, while *Cæsar* return'd to *Rome*, as well to hinder *Lepidus* from making any broils, as to prepare for the War against *Sextus*. He found that *Fulvia* his Mother in Law, and Wife to *Anthony*, shewing the last contempt for *Lepidus*, had made her self so powerful, that neither Senate nor People, durst do any thing against her Will, or without her participation; so much the more too, because *Lucius Anthony's* Brother had joyn'd with her. At his arrival, they liv'd some time together in pretty good intelligence, but afterwards dissentions creeping in, they came at length to open War. *Cæsar*, by reason of the insolence of his Mother in Law, which was altogether

gether insupportable to him, put away her Daughter, under pretence that she was a Virgin still, which he affirm'd with an Oath. After they had thus broke with each other, that which hurt *Cæsar* most, was the general hatred he had drawn upon himself on the following occasion. As soon as he saw himself peaceable Master of all *Italy*, by the help of his Slaves and several other sorts of People, he took Lands away by force from the Proprietors, and distributed them to his Troops, without sparing any but those who being *Veteran* Soldiers, held them of himself by Gift, or had bought them of the Treasury: And as they, to whom this Violence was done, were extreemly provok'd at it, and with reason, he made no other excuse to them but this. 'Where else should we find enough to recompence our *Veterans*? As if any body had compell'd him to make War, and to promise such large rewards to his Soldiers. But when he saw that *Fulvia* and *Lucius*, were industrious to gain those whom he had so unjustly dispossest of their Estates, affording them all manner of assistance; he was constrain'd against his Will, to discontinue

reue his concussions for some time, which regain'd him the affections of the Senate and People.

But on the other side, the Soldiers were up in Arms upon it, and fell foul upon their Officers, and several others that would have appeas'd their disorders, and paid them with Reasons, *Cæsar* himself having much ado to escape ; for they rose upon the least occasion, and committed very great cruelties. In a word, he could not put an end to their mutiny, till he had restor'd to the Fathers, Children, and nearest Relations of those who had been kill'd in the Wars, the Lands which belong'd to them when they were alive. After he had given this order, they began to look upon him with a better Eye, but in revenge the *Romans* were in such a rage upon it, that they came every Day to blows with each other, and were perpetually at variance. Which putting *Cæsar* into some apprehension, he had a great desire to be reconcil'd to *Fulvia* and *Lucius*, yet he could not bring it about, tho' he had deputed to them several times upon this occasion. For there were certain Senators and Knights, whom she consulted with

with in all her Affairs, that prevented this Re-union. Moreover, what will seem strange perhaps, *Fulvia* often charg'd her self with Sword in Hand, gave orders to the Soldiers, and made Speeches to them. Thus *Cæsar* was oblig'd to have recourse to the *Veterans*. (Those were call'd *Veterans*, who were discharg'd after they had serv'd the usual time) as there were at that time great numbers of them in *Italy*, he desired them to come and make Peace between him and *Fulvia*, and to compose all their past differences, of which he made them Judges: Whereupon coming in great numbers to *Rome*, they went up to the Capitol, where after having publickly read the Treaty between *Cæsar* and *Anthony*, *Cæsar* being present, they cited, by Officers sent expressly, the absent to appear at *Rome*, within a certain time to defend their Cause. But the Day upon which they were to give Sentence in this affair being come, *Cæsar* appear'd, but none of the rest, whether their fears hindred them, or they thought it unworthy of them to come upon such a Citation: Nay, to shew their contempt of these *Veterans*, they call'd them Senators
with

with Buskins, upon the account of that sort of covering for their Legs, which the Soldiers usually wear. Notwithstanding this, they did not put a stop to their proceedings, but pronounc'd Sentence in favour of *Cæsar*, against *Lucius* and *Fulvia*. After which *Cæsar* declar'd War against them both, and at the same time took away by force every thing that was Consecrated to the Gods, that he could make Money of, as well in *Rome*, as in all the other Cities of *Italy*; and generally in all Places under his Command.

While he was thus preparing for War, *Fulvia* and *Lucius* did the same thing on their side, and got Troops together from all Parts. But at length after several losses sustain'd on both sides, *Cæsar* remain'd Master, and took by Famine after a long Siege the Place to which *Lucius* had fled for shelter. Yet he escap'd with some others, but in revenge several Senators and Knights lost their Lives. As for *Fulvia*, she retir'd with her Children to her Husband. *Julia*, Mother of the *Antonies*, fled to *Sextus* in *Sicily*, who receiv'd her very Honourably, and afterwards sent her back to her Son. *Claudius*

dius Tiberius Nero was also one of those who went over to *Anthony*; for hearing in *Campania*, where he commanded the Garrison of a certain Place that *Cæsar* had got the advantage, he fled with his Wife *Livia Drusilla*, and his Son *Tiberius Nero*: Which forms something remarkable enough, in as much as *Livia* and *Tiberius*, who fled to *Anthony* at that time, the one was afterwards married to *Cæsar*, and the other succeeded *Cæsar* in the Empire, from whom he had fled with his Relations.

And now *Rome* being tormented with a dreadful Famine upon the account of *Pompey*, who being Master of the Sea ravag'd all *Italy*, *Cæsar* resolv'd to come to blows with him in a Sea-Fight. Immediately he order'd some Barks to be built, like those that are made use of in the Ocean, the body being made of Officers, cover'd with Ox-Hides. But finding that his Project was ridicul'd, every body being of opinion, that nothing could be undertaken with such Vessels without apparent danger, he provided a more solid Fleet, with which nevertheless he was defeated; whereupon he was for making Peace with *Sextus*, but they could

could not agree upon Conditions.

While *Cæsar* was engag'd in this War, *Anthony* fell so desperately in love with *Cleopatra*, that he had entirely quitted *Asia*, and was retir'd into *Egypt*. About this time *Labienus*, who had commanded the Cavalry of *Pompey* the Great, (or rather the Son of him, who having fled into *Parthia*, had since made War upon *Cæsar* with the Sons of *Pompey*, and had retir'd a second time into *Parthia* after their defeat) advis'd King *Orodes* to make War upon the *Romans*, inſomuch that he gave him an Army, and ſent his Son with him to the War. They immediately poſſeſs'd themſelves of all that part of *Syria*, which is beyond *Tyre*, and afterwards of *Paleſtine*, *Cilicia*, and almoſt all the Cities which are in the *Terra firma* of *Asia*. Tho' the news of their ravages came every day to the ears of *Anthony*, yet he was ſo deeply engag'd in his Debauches and Amours, that the diſaſters of the Allies, and the progreſs of the Enemy, had equally little or no effect upon him. But at length hearing that they were preparing buſineſs for him on all ſides, he rouz'd out of his Lethargy, and left
Egypt,

Egypt. And tho' he gave out the War with *Sextus* for the reason of his march, nevertheless as soon as he arriv'd in *Greece*, whither his Wife and his Mother came to joyn him, he declar'd War against *Cæsar*, and contracted an Alliance with *Sextus*. After which he pass'd into *Italy*, where of a sudden surprizing *P. Servilius*, who commanded the Troops of *Cæsar* in those parts, he kill'd abundance of his Men, besides taking many Prisoners. *Fulvia* his Wife died soon after this Fight. And now both Parties laid down their Arms, *Fulvia's* death was the pretence, but nothing so much contributed to Peace, as the equal hopes and forces which both were possess'd of. By this Treaty, *Cæsar* had for his share *Sardinia*, *Dalmatia*, *Spain* and *Gaul*; and *Anthony* all that belong'd to the Republick beyond the *Adriatick* Sea, as well in *Europe* as *Asia*, (for *Lepidus* had *Lybia*, and *Sextus* *Sicily*.) After which they prepar'd to make War with *Sextus*, where they both ran a great risk, because he had found means to stir up against them all who remain'd at *Rome*. Besides, he was very powerful at Sea, especially as long as

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Menas

Menas his Freedman was in his Service.

Yet more as *Sextus* was Master of *Sardinia*, and kept cruising upon the Coasts of *Italy*, Corn began to fail in *Rome*; which having caus'd a severe Famine, the People were continually exhorting *Cæsar* and *Anthony* with great Clamours, to make Peace with *Sextus*. But when they saw they made no progress in it, they came one day in crowds to them, with a design to put them to death. *Cæsar* seeing some of his People hurt, tore his Cloaths, and presented himself to them in that equipage, and after having ask'd them pardon, begg'd them to spare his Life. As for *Anthony*, he call'd his friends to his Assistance, and repuls'd their Violence; yet they were both oblig'd to send Embassadors to *Sextus*, to enter into a Treaty of Peace. About the same time *L. Cornelius Balbus*, a Native of *Cadiz*, was Consul. History makes mention of him, because he was so rich, and at the same time so liberal, in which it may be said he excelled all the Men of his time, that when he died, he left the *Romans* two Crowns per Head. The *Falcidian* Law,
by

by vertue of which an Heir that is ag-griev'd, may retain the fourth part of the Inheritance, which is in force to this day, was also introduc'd about this time by *Publius Falcidius*, Tribune of the People. And now *Cæsar* and *Anthony* did several things against all manner of reason, for they not only admitted into the number of Senators, Persons that were altogether unworthy, but even Slaves; among others the Patron having one day observ'd in this Assembly, one *Maximus*, who tho' he was his Slave, was going to be made *Questor*, he forc'd him to return to his Servitude. Another having been taken in the Army, where he pass'd for a Soldier, was thrown headlong from the top of the *Capitol*, after having been first made free, in order to make his Punishment the more Signal.

Cæsar and *Anthony* having had a meeting at length with *Sextus*, they struck up a Peace, which caus'd so great a joy to those who were present, who could not sufficiently express their satisfaction, to see after so long a War, the Peace so much desir'd, that the adjacent places carrying their shouts to the Moun-

tains, and the Echos of the Mountains returning the sound, made a most dreadful noise. *Pompey's Men*, who were in their Ships, not being able to stay till they could land, leap'd with impatience into the Water, while those who were upon the Beach jump'd into the Sea to meet them, and to salute them as they swam in the midst of the Waves. Afterwards the Generals treated each other. *Sextus* began first, and entertain'd *Cæsar* and *Anthony* in his Admiral-Galley, after which they return'd his civility ashoar. *Sextus* having them both a-board with few Attendants, might easily have dispatch'd them, and he was ev'n advis'd to it by *Menas*; but he would not hear on't. On the other side he rallied familiarly with *Anthony*, who being in possession of his Father's House at *Rome*, which stood in a place call'd *Carina*, he made an allusion to the Name, which signifies in Latin both the Ship he was then in, and his Father's House in *Rome*, and told him by way of Mirth, that he entertain'd him in his *Carina*. He also promis'd his Daughter in Marriage to *M. Marcellus*, the Son of *Cæsar's* Sister, so that this War was put off to another time. *An-*

Anthony passing from *Italy* into *Greece*, govern'd there after a manner very opposite to our Ancestor's way of Living; for besides his plundering several Towns, he left every where marks of his Debauchery; so far did he give a loose, that he order'd himself to be call'd *Bacchus*. Which oblig'd the *Athenians* to give him *Minerva* for his Wife. Nor did he refuse the Marriage, but he extorted from them four hundred *Sesterces*, under pretence that 'twas for her Portion. While he was employ'd in this manner, he sent *Ventidius* before into *Asia*, where the *Parthians* falling upon him against the advice of *Labienus*, who had but lately made a great progress in those parts, he put them to the rout, and tho' they were possess'd of several advantageous Places in *Syria*, drove them out of all the Country, and took *Labienus* himself Prisoner, for which he entred *Rome* in Triumph. He signalized himself afterwards by several extraordinary Expences, which shew'd his Magnificence; among other things he rebuilt the Place where the Courts of Justice are held, which had been burnt, adorn'd it with several Statues which

Cæsar had given him, but which he was oblig'd to restore to him again ; yet when *Cæsar* demanded them soon after, he did not think fit to send them to him , but handsomly answer'd, “ I
 “ have not Servants enough to bring
 “ them to you, but you that have a great
 “ number, may send to the Courts of
 “ Justice for them. Nevertheless *Cæsar* was afraid to do that, lest if he should take them from thence by force, he might be accus'd of Sacrilege.

Afterwards he Married *Livia*, with whom he had long been passionately in Love. She was the Wife of *Nero*, who once fled to *Anthony*, as we have said before, and was six Months gone with Child ; yet her Husband gave her himself in Marriage to *Cæsar*, as if he had been her Father, and not her Husband. One of those little Children, almost all naked, which the Ladies of Quality usually keep for their Diversion, being at the Wedding-Feast, when he saw *Augustus* sit with *Livia*, and *Nero* with another, he accosted *Livia*, and said to her,
 “ What do you do there, Madam, this
 “ is your Husband, pointing to *Nero* ?
 During this Marriage she was delivered
 of

of *Claudius Drusus Nero*, whom *Cæsar* brought up, and then sent home to his Father, who dying some time after, left him to the care of *Cæsar*, as well as *Tiberius* his other Son. The People talk'd differently of this Affair, among other things they sung publickly, your lucky People have Children at three Months end, which has since pass'd into a Proverb. About the same time *Menas* quitted *Pompey*, and went over to *Cæsar's* Party, and tho' *Sextus* demanded him again, *Cæsar* far from giving him up, bestow'd upon him very great Honours, made him a *Roman* Knight, and gave him the priviledge of wearing a Gold Ring. No body but the Prince can allow this priviledge to his Freedmen, because heretofore none but Senators or Knights could pretend to a right of wearing those kinds of Rings. *Sextus* was so provok'd at the refusal, that it mov'd him to an open rupture ; besides that, *Cæsar* had not kept his word with him in any of those things, to which he was oblig'd by their Agreements, tho' *Cæsar* pretended on his side, that *Sextus* first broke the Treaty of Peace. Thereupon *Cæsar* sends to *Le-*

pidus and *Anthony*, to come and assist him in this War; but finding they were too tardy, he undertook it alone, and was unfortunate in the very beginning: For he was not only routed in several Engagements at Sea, but he also lost several of his Ships in a Storm. Which puff'd up *Sextus* to that degree, that he call'd himself the Son of *Neptune*, and ravag'd all the coast of *Italy*.

Cæsar was oblig'd to build Ships in almost all the Ports of the Country: He also brought them from all parts, rais'd Soldiers every where, and heap'd together a mass of Treasure. Two years were spent in making preparations. He committed to *M. Vispianus Agrippa*, the care of setting out his Fleet, having sent for him expressly upon this occasion, after he had granted him the honour of a Triumph, for having put an end to the War against the *Gauls*, and for having carried the *Roman* Arms beyond the *Rhine*, which only *Julius Cæsar* had done before. He had particular orders to train up the Soldiers to constant exercise, and to enure them to Labour, that they might be the more serviceable in the Naval Army.

Agrippa

Agrippa who was then Consul with *Lucius Gallus*, would not accept of the Triumph which *Cæsar* had granted him, thinking it did not become him to make Rejoycings, while *Cæsar's* Affairs were unsuccessful. In the mean time he was so extreamly diligent, that not only the Fleet was soon ready, but observing that this Coast was quite unfurnish'd of Ports, he made a piece of Work that was very fine, and very magnificent.

Near *Cumæ*, a City of *Campania*, between *Misenum* and *Puteoli*, there is a piece of Land in form of a Half-Moon, surrounded with little Mountains, for the most part naked, and without Trees. Three separate Arms of the Sea meeting here; he cut through the Ground, that they might have Communication with each other, and by this means made a very secure Harbour. I shall relate in a few words, several things I have seen here, because they seem to be very singular. In these Mountains we mention'd but now, there are Springs of Fire and Water both together, nor is it possible to discern which of the two it is: For to speak properly, 'tis
neither

neither Fire nor Water, being a matter moist and fiery at the same time. It discharges it self by Canals into Fountains, from thence conveys the Vapour by the means of several Pipes, into the uppermost Apartments. For the higher it rises from the Earth, the hotter and dryer it is ; several very noble Houses are built about the place, where they go to use these sorts of Baths, which are very conducive to Health in abundance of cases. What is yet more remarkable in the ground of these Mountains, is this, tho' the Fire can't consume it, because the Water which is mix'd with it, tempers the heat, yet it burns the Ground all about it, insomuch, that it reduces to Cinders those parts that are fat and moist : Whereas those that are dry and poor resist it, and grow yet harder. Further, they find in the adjacent Country clots of Earth, which put into the fire, turn to dust, and on the contrary, become harder when you put them into the Water. The reason of this may be, that whatsoever is dry, being put into the fire, grows dryer still, by the assistance of a thing of the same nature ; whereas in the Water the
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contrariety it meets with, makes it contract it self, and become as hard as a Flint.

The Situation of *Baiæ* being thus, *Agrippa*, after he had made the Port, brought thither a great number of Gallies, and furnish'd them with Oars. About that time they receiv'd news at *Rome*, of several Prodigies that had happen'd in several places; but that which caus'd most surprize, was a report, that at *Aspis*, a City in *Africa*, abundance of Dolphins had been found upon the banks of the Sea, that had kill'd one another in fight, and that it had rain'd Blood there, which the Birds had afterwards carried to several places. What happen'd to *Livia*, gave her no small Satisfaction; for an Eagle dropt in her bosom a white Fowl, that had in its Beak a branch of Laurel with its Fruit: Which seeming to presage somewhat extraordinary, she nurs'd up the Fowl with great care, and planted the Laurel-branch, which taking Root, became afterwards a Tree of that bigness, that it furnish'd Laurel for all the Triumphs. But that implied no more, than that *Augustus* should be so devoted to
her

her Pleasure, that it might be said, she carried him in her Bosom. About this time *Anthony* return'd from *Syria* to *Italy*, under pretence as he alledg'd, to come and reinforce *Cæsar* against *Sextus*, who had us'd him very roughly in an Engagement: But upon his Arrival, they fell into such a Misunderstanding, that *Anthony* was upon the very point of breaking with *Cæsar*, nevertheless by the interposition of *Octavia*, they renew'd their Alliance a second time; for being *Cæsar's* Sister, *Anthony* had Married her in pursuance of one of the Articles of the first Treaty. *Anthony* in consideration of some Ships which *Cæsar* had of him, receiv'd some of his Troops in exchange, which he stood in need of to march against the *Parthians*: In which they had nothing less in their view, than to oblige one another, but they thought the juncture of time requir'd it; especially since *Anthony*, as soon as he arriv'd at *Corcyra*, sent *Octavia* back to *Rome*.

When *Cæsar* saw his Fleet was ready, he sail'd to *Sicily*, where having cast Anchor, he left *Agrippa* to command the Naval Army, while himself in Per-

son

son conducted the Land-forces. *Sextus* also gave the command of his Fleet to *Demochares*, and remain'd alhoar to be a Spectator of the Battel. *Agrippa* coming to an Engagement with *Demochares*, the Battel was obstinate all the day, with equal advantage on both sides, till upon the Night's approach, the Victory at last was on *Cæsar's* side. The Fight happen'd near *Mylæ*, a City in *Sicily*. The Victors did not pursue the Enemy far, because 'twas impossible in my opinion to o'ertake them, by reason of the heaviness of their Ships. Besides not knowing the Coast, they ran a risk of striking upon the Sands, which are scatter'd about there in many places. Yet some are of opinion, that 'twas the fault of *Agrippa* himself, who was contented with putting the Enemy to flight, because he made this War for *Cæsar*, and not for himself; and what confirms this suspicion is, that he would often say to his friends in a laughing way; " That Princes did not care to
 " have People in their Service, that
 " were abler than themselves; when a
 " thing seems to promise a happy e-
 " vent, they take the conduct of it up-
 " on

“ on themselves, but when ’tis full of
 “ difficulties, they commit it to the care
 “ of others. That if they are con-
 “ strained to employ others, where there
 “ is Honour to be got, they can’t bear
 “ to hear them prais’d according to their
 “ Merit ; for tho’ they don’t wish to
 “ have them beaten, or that their Un-
 “ dertakings should not meet with all
 “ manner of Success, yet they take no
 “ satisfaction in seeing any but them-
 “ selves reap the glory of them. For
 “ which reason he advised those who
 “ were zealous, to keep in favour with
 “ their Prince, to do all they possibly
 “ could for his Service ; but at the same
 “ time to give him all the Honour.
 These were the Maxims that *Agrippa*
 not only had in his Mouth, but also ob-
 serv’d in all his Conduct.

After this Sea-fight, *Cæsar* hearing
 that *Sextus* had thrown himself into
Messina, and that there were no Ships to
 guard the Strait, he was resolv’d not to
 loose this occasion of ending the War,
 whereupon embarking his Men in the
 Ships he had receiv’d from *Anthony*, he
 sail’d directly to *Messina*. Nevertheless
 fortune did not favour his designs up-
 on

on this occasion; for *Sextus* going to meet him with a Fleet well equip'd, and full of Land-forces, *Cæsar*, who despis'd him, because he had been lately defeated by *Agrippa*, giving him Battel immediately, he not only lost several of his Ships, but was in great danger himself, not being able to return to his Troops, which he had left in *Sicily*. In a word, he thought himself very happy in getting safe to the nearest *Terra firma*, where he kept close without undertaking any thing farther. While he was in the utmost desolation, to see himself separated from his Troops in *Sicily*, his Affliction was abated in some measure, by an accident that happened to him: A Fish leap'd out of the Water, and cast it self at his feet, which the *Augurs* said was a presage that he should be one day absolute Master of the Sea. At the same time *Cornescius* who commanded his Land-Army, was extremely perplex'd, for on one side he was afraid, that if he stay'd where he was, he should have his Provisions cut off, and on the other he durst not march, for fear of being defeated, because he had the Enemy on his right
and

and left, who would certainly have gall'd him with their Arrows from their advanc'd Posts, and attack'd him in the narrow ways. But at length, *Agrippa* having pass'd into the Island, took the City of *Mylæ*, and driving the Enemy before him, pierc'd as far as the Place where *Cornefcius* lay, and so sav'd him and his Troops contrary to all expectation. This lucky accident, by which he and his Men were redeem'd as 'twere from the Grave, made such an impression upon him all his Life after, that when ever he Supp'd out of *Rome*, he was carried Home upon an Elephant for Joy.

And now tho' *Cæsar* did not make himself Master of *Sicily* at that time, yet afterwards *Lepidus* coming to joyn him with his Army, he repass'd into the Island, and by the help of *Agrippa* defeated *Sextus* at Sea, who thinking himself no longer safe in *Sicily*, sail'd into *Asia*, where he was kill'd by some whom *Anthony* had sent for that purpose, as he was endeavouring to raise the Countrey against him; for *Cæsar* neither then, nor afterwards, pursu'd him any longer, by reason of a dissension which arose between him and *Lepidus*, which was occasion'd

some discourse with the Soldiers, but they not being pleas'd with what he said, were the more enrag'd against him, so that taking Arms immediately, they fell upon his Men, and made a slaughter of some of them. However, he escap'd, because he was suddenly reliev'd. After which he return'd against them with all his Forces, which struck them with such a fear that they all went over to his side, and *Lepidus* himself fell down at his Feet to beg his Life; Thus he lost all his Power, and pass'd the rest of his Days in *Italy*, not without some Guard upon him.

And now while *Anthony* was in *Greece*, *Ventidius* his Lieutenant defeated and kill'd in Battel *Pacorus* Son of *Orodes*, King of the *Parthians*. He was a Prince extreamly belov'd in his Countrey for his extraordinary Justice and natural Goodness, which appear'd in all his Actions. After which, he drove all the *Parthians* that escap'd from the Battel entirely out of *Syria*: But so much good fortune made *Anthony* conceive some Jealousie of him, which made him deprive him of his Employment, and never afterwards make use of him. Which
how-

however was no hindrance to his Triumph after the Death of *Anthony*, *Ventidius* being the first *Roman* that Triumph'd for any Conquest over the *Parthians*. The Senate granted him this honour so much the more willingly, because he had reveng'd the loss which the Republick had sustain'd under *Crassus*, upon the very Day the other had formerly happen'd. Another accident, which was extraordinary enough, very much encreas'd his Glory, which was, that he should Triumph for his Victories over the *Parthians*, after having been himself led in Triumph with several other Prisoners, by *Pompeius Strabo*. *Anthony* having afterwards given to *Sossius* the Government of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, the latter made himself famous by a great many Conquests which he had made in those Parts, and among the rest by the taking of *Jerusalem*. He took the Temple first, and afterwards the rest of the City, both upon a *Saturday*, which is in so great Veneration among them, that as well those who were taken with the Temple, as the rest beg'd leave of *Sossius* to Sacrifice after their fashion upon the return of that

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Day.

Day. *Anthony* gave the Kingdom to *Herod*, and caus'd *Antigonus*, who Reign'd before in the Countrey, to be fix'd to a Cross, and then beaten with Rods, which the *Roman* People had never done before to any King.

After which he led his Army against the *Parthians*, and Besieg'd the City of *Phraata* with little Succels; on the contrary, the Enemies who were in the Field, falling continually upon his Lines, did him a great deal of damage. While he was before this Place, *Phraates* sent to some of his Officers privately to let him know, that if he would send Ambassadors to him to treat of a Peace, 'twould be the way to obtain what he desir'd. Which *Anthony* having done, he gave Audience to the Ambassadors upon a Golden Throne, where after several insulting words, holding his Bow in his Hand which he bent from time to time, he promis'd them to make Peace with *Anthony*, provided he rais'd the Siege. He was the most impious Monster of his time, who had put to Death his Father *Orodes*, and all his Brothers in order to get the Kingdom. *Anthony* understanding at the return of his Ambassadors

sadors the Insolence of the *Parthian*, was afraid lest he should play him some unlucky *Tour*, upon which he decamp'd immediately, but he put his Army into an extream danger by it, out of which however it escap'd contrary to every bodies expectation. For besides that his Men supported patiently an incredible fatigue, being once fall'n into an Ambuscade, after they had joyn'd their Bucklers in the form of a *Tortoise*, they put one Knee to the ground, and continued firm in this posture: Which making the *Barbarians* believe that their Wounds hindred them from fighting, they immediately dismounted, and throwing away their Bows, ran with Sword in Hand to dispatch them at once: But the *Romans* rising at a certain Signal, and spreading their Ranks fell furiously upon them. And as the Party was not equal between an Army that was waiting for the Combat, and another that was unprepar'd for it; between Men that were well Arm'd, and Troops that were not; between Soldiers cover'd with Steel, and Naked Archers; and in a word between *Romans* and *Barbarians*, they made a prodigious destruction of

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them. A Battalion in form of a *Tortoise*, is compos'd after this manner. The Baggage, the light Troops, and the Horse are in the middle, while those who are heavily arm'd, and have the longest Bucklers, place themselves in the Wings, where they cover all the rest like a sort of Parapet. The others, whose Bucklers are rather broad than long, remaining close in the middle, put them upon their Heads, and by that means cover themselves with the whole Battalion; so that you can see nothing but Bucklers. Which forms a Wall so strong, because they are very thick, that not only Men may run upon it, but ev'n Horses and Chariots pass over it upon occasion, when they meet with any difficult way. This form of Battalion has obtain'd the Name of *Tortoise*, from the great force and firmness of its covering. They are us'd upon two several occasions. The first is to attack any Fortrefs, by lifting arm'd Men upon the Walls thro' this means; and the other is to defend themselves from Arrows, by putting one Knee to the ground; for the Horses are also taught to kneel. Thus making the Enemies believe they are tir'd, when they
come

come in confusion to fall upon them, they rise of a sudden and put them into disorder. So much for the Battalion in form of a *Tortoise*.

Anthony having by his Artifices got the King of *Armenia* into his Hands, put him in Chains, because he did not assist him in his War with the *Parthians*. He put him at first into Silver Chains, and afterwards in Golden ones, and presented him to *Cleopatra*, with whom laying aside all thoughts of War, he plung'd himself into all manner of Pleasures, gave the Children he had by her the Title of Kings of Kings, and distributed among them not only *Armenia*, and the other Provinces which he commanded, but also the *Indies*, and the Countrey of the *Parthians*. In the mean time *Cæsar* to make his Soldiers Warlike, was employ'd in Conquering *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, where he was wounded in several Battels, which with the fatigue and labour he sustain'd, put him often into great dangers.

About the same time *Agrippa* repair'd and augmented at his own charge the number of *Aqueducts*, which were so far decay'd, that there was scarce any such

thing as Water in *Rome*. He also rebuilt several publick Edifices, and repav'd the Streets without putting the Treasury to any expence. He likewise cleans'd the Common-shores, and put them into so good a condition, that one might by their means go in a Boat to the *Tyber*. Besides all this, having observ'd that at the *Circus*, abundance of People often mistook their Places, by reason of the great number of Benches which are in the *Amphi-Theatre*, he order'd *Dolphins* and other Figures in Sculpture to distinguish them. He also gave Oyl and Salt to all the *Romans*, and Baths for which neither Men nor Women were to pay for a whole Year together. He hir'd Surgeons to be at the publick Games, that no body might be at any sort of expence : Threw from a rais'd place several Billets among the People, which contain'd the Gift of certain Summs of Money : Gave several Merchandises among them, which had been expos'd to Sale, and in a word drove all the Magicians and Astrologers out of *Rome*. All this *Agrippa* did in his *Edileship*. By this time the *Parthians* after having vanquish'd the King of the *Medes*, seiz'd upon *Media* and *Armenia*. After

After all these things, *Anthony* and *Cæsar* came to an open rupture, and made great Complaints of each other. *Cæsar* tax'd *Anthony* with giving the Dominions of the Republick to *Cleopatra*, and becoming her Slave, as if she had enchanted him; which was the reason that he declar'd War against her, and not directly against *Anthony*, who on his side accus'd *Cæsar* of having put a great affront upon him by opening his Will while he was alive. They likewise added several other things; for having long since resolv'd to make War upon each other, they wanted no pretext to cover their design. The Preparations for it were very great, to which none of the preceeding ones were comparable: For a mighty number of People and Nations came to the assistance of both. *Cæsar* had for him *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Illyricum*, and all that part of *Africa*, which heretofore obey'd the *Romans*, except that which is about *Cyrene*. The Countreys under the Dominion of *Bogud* and *Bocchus* also declar'd for him; and besides all these, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and the other Neighbouring Islands. On the other side, *Anthony* had in his party all *Asia*,
that

that was under the command of the *Romans*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Egypt*, the *Cyrenians*, with all the Countreys adjoining, and all the Islands that belong'd to them. Yet more, almost all the Kings that had any extent of Dominion bordering upon the *Roman* Provinces, which *Anthony* commanded at that time, either appear'd in Person in his Troops, or sent their Lieutenants.

Before any Act of Hostility was committed, *Anthony* made an Oath to his Men to quit the Command two Months after his Victory, and to resign all his Power into the Hands of the Senate and People. Nay, they had all the difficulty imaginable to oblige him to promise to keep it six Months in order to the better regulation of Affairs. Several Prodigies preceeded this War. An Owl after having sat upon the Temple of *Concord*, did the same upon all the rest. Mount *Etna* having Vomited prodigious flames, ruin'd all the Towns about it. And if it be true, that which is more wonderful than all the rest is, that in *Tuscany* a Dragon, fourscore and five Foot long, after having ravag'd all the Countrey, was at last kill'd by a clap of Thunder.

Thunder. At *Rome* the Children dividing themselves into two Parties, under the names of *Anthony* and *Cæsar*, after a Fight of two Days the first were vanquish'd, which clearly presag'd the defeat of *Anthony*, and his Statue of Marble which was upon Mount *Alba*, prognosticated his Death by sweating drops of Blood.

The Battel was fought near *Actium*, in the place where *Nicopolis* is at present. *Anthony's* Friends were very much displeas'd to see him take *Cleopatra* with him to the War, which was at last the cause of his losing a Battel at Sea, of which take the following Account. The Gallies of *Anthony* were much bigger than those of the Enemy. There were very few of three rows of Oars, the most part had four or five, or thereabouts; upon which large Towers were built, which being full of Soldiers, was the reason that they did not fight hand to hand; for the Gallies of *Cæsar* being smaller and lighter, those who were within cover'd their Heads, to defend them from the Enemies Arrows, then fell upon them on all sides. Thus they either sunk them, or they made their
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Retreat, and attack'd others before the Enemy could fasten upon them, so as to come to board them; after which they return'd upon them, or fell upon others with the same swiftneſs, never ſtaying long in the ſame place; but attack'd ſometimes theſe, ſometimes thoſe, in order to take them all unprovided. For as they fear'd the force of the Enemies Gallies, and therefore forbore to aſſault them too near, after they had once given them a Shock, they retir'd as quick as poſſible to avoid their Darts, and to give them no time to recover themſelves, and to bear down upon them. On the other ſide thoſe of *Anthony* repulſ'd them with Darts and Stones, which did them a great deal of hurt, or elſe they threw out their Grapling-Irons for them, when they were not too far off; with which, when they had once faſten'd upon them, their Victory was certain; but if they fail'd, their Ships being all ſhatter'd with the Enemies Prows——went to the bottom immediately: Which if they endeavour'd to hinder by reſtting the Ship, they remain'd more expoſ'd to the Enemies blows, who pour'd two or three Vellels together againſt one,

one, which sometimes defended it self pretty well, and sometimes was us'd very roughly. So that on *Cæsar's* side the Seamen and the Crew of Slaves, were the most fatigu'd, whereas *Anthony's* Soldiers were most harass'd; and as the first after having bore down upon the Enemy with great swiftnes, retir'd immediately, one might have compar'd them to Horsemen, who in managing a Horse make him advance, and then recoil in an instant. As to those of *Anthony*, one would have thought they were Troops that were Conquerors, and conquer'd both together; for while the others broke their Oars and Tackling to pieces, they confounded them from above with a storm of Arrows, which they darted out of Machines. After the fight had been thus obstinate a long time, it happen'd that *Cleopatra*, whose Ships were at Anchor behind the Combatants, had not patience to stay for the issue of the Battel, which seem'd very uncertain: But being a Woman and an *Egyptian*, and fearing the Success of a thing so doubtful, she fled, and made a Signal for her People to follow her. Upon which *Anthony* seeing her

her out at Sea with a favourable Wind, follow'd her immediately ; which being come to the knowledge of his Men, who kept firm hitherto, they lost their courage at once, so that *Cæsar* obtain'd a compleat Victory at Sea, upon the second of *September*. I had a mind to mark this day contrary to my Custom, because *Cæsar* from that day became sole Master, so that his Reign begins its date from that time.

Cæsar afterwards built a City in the same place, which he call'd *Nicopolis*, and surrounded the place where he had incamp'd before, with a Wall of Free-stone four foot high, adorn'd it with several Prows which he had taken from the Enemy, and order'd a Temple to be built in the same place without a Roof, in honour of *Apollo*. *Agrippa* did *Cæsar* very great service in this War, for he destroy'd several Cities where *Anthony's* Magazines lay, and beat his Lieutenants in several Engagements ; which made him put such confidence in him, as well as in *Mæcenat*, that they had the liberty to read all the Letters which he wrote, whether to the Senate or others, and to change what they thought

thought fit. Therefore they had his Seal, for he had two at that time, with which all his Dispatches were Sealed. At first the figure of a *Sphinx*, was engrav'd upon both, but afterwards he had his own put in, which was always his Seal, from that time forward, as well as of the other Emperors, except *Galba*, who 'tis said made use of that of his Ancestors, which was a Dog putting his Head out of the Prow of a Ship.

The History of the Reign of Augustus.

AFTER the loss of the Battel at Sea, *Anthony*, who fled into *Egypt* with *Cleopatra*, seeing himself forsaken by his best Friends, upon the arrival of *Cæsar*, put an end to his Life, expiring in the Arms of *Cleopatra*. *Cæsar*, after he had made himself Master of *Alexandria*, having confin'd *Cleopatra* to her Palace, without putting any hardship upon her, she sent a Message to him

him, to request him to do her the Honour to make her a Visit, saying, she had something of Importance to communicate to him. *Cæsar* having promis'd to satisfy her, she prepar'd to receive him in an Equipage, which tho' it suited the Affliction and Mourning she was then in, did not fail nevertheless to raise in some sort her natural Beauty. She lay upon a Couch in a melancholy posture, surrounded with the Pictures of *Julius Cæsar*, the Father of *Augustus*, and had upon her Bosom all the Letters he had formerly written to her. *Cæsar* coming in, she rose, and said to him, My Lord, (' for the Gods have given ' you the Power, and have taken it ' from me) you know how often I was ' visited by your Father, and you are ' not ignorant that 'twas he, who placed the Crown of *Egypt* upon my ' Head; but that you may know something of our private Entertainments, ' be pleas'd to read these Letters. They ' are all written to me with his own Hand. Her discourse was accompanied with languishing looks, which she cast upon *Cæsar* from time to time; then she wept, and spoke in such a manner, as could

could hardly fail of obtaining Pity, and giving Love; sometimes she cried, O *Cæsar*, ‘Of what use are all these Letters to me! but I fancy I see him reviv’d in them; a little after, Ah me! would to Heaven thou wert still alive. Then she took her self up and said, but see *Augustus*, the very Person of his Father. Doth not his Father live in him? Though *Cæsar* comprehended her design, yet he seem’d not to understand her; so that without seeming to look upon her, he only said to her, ‘Fear nothing, Madam, you shall receive no hurt. At the same time he had an extream desire to carry her to *Rome*, that he might adorn his Triumph with this famous *Cleopatra*, whose Reputation was spread through the World. For which reason he did all that was in his power to hinder her from being oppress’d with her Grief, was extreamly careful of her, and lessen’d nothing of her usual State.

But she perceiving well his Design, (for she naturally had a very subtle, piercing Wit) after she had put on her most magnificent Robes, and most valuable Ornaments,

she expir'd upon her Couch by the Sting of an Aspick, which had been brought to her in a little Basket, or as some will have it, by pricking her self with a poison'd Bodkin, which made her die on the instant.

As soon as *Cæsar* heard of her Death, he shew'd a very great Concern, and without losing time, went instantly to the Body, and order'd the Application of several Remedies; among the rest of *Psylls*, to see if there was any possibility of bringing her again to Life. These *Psylls* are Men (for Women have not this Vertue) that with their Mouths draw out so swiftly all the Poison that any one has in his Body, when he is stung with a Serpent, that they save his Life; besides, those Creatures have no power to hurt them with their Stings. They communicate this Vertue from Father to Son, so that to prove their Children Legitimate, as soon as they are born, they put them among Serpents, who do them no manner of hurt. But all the efforts of *Cæsar* to recover *Cleopatra*, proving ineffectual, he admir'd her Courage, and besides that an End so fatal made an impression upon him;

him, he was extreamly concern'd to see himself depriv'd of the most shining Trophy of his Victory, and of the most glorious Ornament of his Triumph. Thus died *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*.

Cæsar afterwards pardon'd the *Alexandrians*, in consideration of *Alexander* their Founder, and of *Arius* the Philosopher, whom he had made use of in his Studies, though 'twas but a pretence, being otherwise unwilling to destroy so powerful and populous a City, that had formerly done very great Services to the *Romans*. Having desir'd to see the Body of *Alexander*, he look'd upon it attentively, and handled it so much, that 'tis said he broke off the top of the Nose. After which, as those of the Country would have shewn him the Bodies of the *Ptolomies*, ' He did not vouchsafe to see them, saying, that he came to see a King, and not dead Bodies. ' He had the same contempt for *Apis*, ' alledging for his reason, that he had ' been accusom'd to worship Gods, and ' not Oxen. Having thus made *Egypt* tributary to *Rome*, he gave the Government of it to *Cornelius Gallus* ; for he would not only not put a Senator into

that Post, but he made a Law, that none of that Order should ever stay in this Country, without his express leave. The Money he got from the *Egyptians*, went partly to reward the Soldiers, and the rest was put into the Treasury, or serv'd to adorn the Temples.

Thus *Egypt* was brought under Subjection, which the Gods seem'd to have given Presages of before ; for it not only rain'd Water there, but ev'n Blood, tho' in all the time past, they had never seen a drop of Rain. There also appear'd a Dragon of a prodigious bigness, that hiss'd in a dreadful manner. Some of those Meteors too were seen, which the *Greeks* call *Comets*. There were Apparitions of dead Men, and the Statues of the Gods seem'd to weep. Besides all this, *Apis* himself roar'd most dreadfully. *Cæsar* being come back to *Rome*, the Senate decreed him very great Honours, which 'tis not necessary to give a particular description of. The first thing he did, was to Triumph with a great deal of Pomp and Magnificence, and then he went to deposit in a Temple the Ornaments of *Cleopatra*. Tho' she had been vanquish'd and taken Prisoner,

soner, yet her Reputation did not fail to spread it self through the World, and to this day, her Statue in Gold is to be seen in the Temple of *Venus*. *Cæsar* made publick Rejoycings for several days together, in honour of his Victories, in which there was shewn, a *Sea-Horse*, and a *Rhinoceros*, which was the first time they had ever been seen at *Rome*. This last is an Animal somewhat like an Elephant, that has a Horn at the end of the Nose, from whence it has its Name. About this time, *Crasus* who had been sent by *Cæsar* thro' *Greece* and *Macedon*, to the Banks of the *Danube*, overcame the *Myfians*, and the *Basterni*, and slew *Deldon* their King with his own Hand. After which he subdued *Thrace*, and beat the *Getes* in several Battels, which still was a great addition to *Cæsar's* Fame and Glory.

Thus the *Romans*, after having been govern'd by Kings, or rul'd by their Magistrates in the form of a Commonwealth, for the space of seven hundred twenty five years, fell a second time under a Monarchy. Not but that *Cæsar* had it under deliberation, whether he should not entirely dismiss his Ar-

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mies,

mies, in order to resign the power to the Senate and People. He even propos'd the thing to *Agrippa* and to *Mæcenas*, from whom he kept nothing secret, to have their opinions upon it. The first, having a regard to Justice only, advis'd him to surrender the Empire, and to restore to the *Roman* People, a Power which was their due: But *Mæcenas* considering the *Utile* alone, maintain'd that nothing was so glorious as an Empire lawfully acquir'd. So that *Cæsar* giving into this last opinion, confirm'd his Sway, and took the Title of *Emperor*; not as 'twas given heretofore, but in a sense that implied an absolute power over the whole Empire, which had been granted by a Decree of the Senate to *Julius Cæsar* his Father, his Children, and Grand-children. Afterwards being made *Censor* with *Agrippa*, he reform'd the Senate; not that he drove out any one by force, but he exhorted them to judge themselves, by examining into their Births, and their past Actions. Besides which, he made an Order, that no Senator should go out of *Italy* without his express leave, which is observ'd to this day: For the
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Senators are only allow'd to go to *Sicily*, or into *Gallia Narbonica*, because there are no Armies in those two Provinces.

Cæsar gave his Sister's Daughter to *Agrippa* in Marriage, and allow'd him the Honour in Camps, to have a Tent like his own, and to give the Word to the Soldiers equally with himself. After all the Wars were finish'd, *Cæsar* govern'd the *Roman* People with so much Prudence and Moderation, that not only the most vertuous did not hate him, in looking upon him as their Master, but they even bore a very great affection to him, and consider'd him as a very indulgent Father. For besides that he fill'd *Rome* with marks of his Magnificence, in rebuilding those places that were gone to ruine; he applied his cares so well, that nothing was wanting, and every thing flourish'd there. Yet further, he gain'd the Hearts of private Men by abundance of good Deeds. And now relying upon all these things he propos'd in an Assembly of the Senate, to quit the Empire, and to re-establish the Commonwealth. But he did not find their minds dispos'd to comply with

him in it, (if one should not rather say, that they acted according to his intentions, since 'twas but a seeming desire, and very far from his design) for they who once usurp the Royalty, usually take the same method for a colour to their Usurpation, by insinuating a belief that they receive from the Hands of the People, an Authority which is only an effect of their Violence. Thus *Cæsar* had no sooner made the proposal, but they set up a great clamour, some with an ill design, others out of fear, as being doubtful of the thing ; and some too with a good intention, because having a deeper insight into Affairs, they knew 'twas impossible for the State any longer to flourish without a Prince. In a word, all in general oblig'd him to keep the Empire, and so much the more willingly, not only because the greatest part of Men were disgusted with a popular Government, by reason of its frequent Emotions, but also because they had an extream good opinion of *Cæsar*, so that they easily suffer'd this Revolution of State. Afterwards they made an Order, that his ordinary Guards should be allow'd double

ble pay to oblige them to a more zealous and diligent care of his Person. Thus the Empire was equally confirm'd to him by Senate and People.

After which affecting to appear Popular, he charg'd himself with all Affairs that requir'd any extraordinary Diligence, and declar'd, that he did not pretend to govern singly so many People and Nations, nor to keep all his Life the Governments he enjoy'd. Thus he left to the care of the Senate, such only as for want of force were not in a condition to make any Disturbance, alledging as a reason, that without being oblig'd to maintain Armies there, he should reap very great Advantages from thence, and kept those Countries that were full of Warlike Men, that he might have all the trouble and danger, as he said, and the Senate be entirely safe and at ease. But his design in acting thus, was to weaken them absolutely, and to have Armies at his Devotion. Tho' he had promised to quit after ten years, not only the Empire, but also those Provinces that were faln to his share, which he was to have resign'd into the Hands of the Senate, yet he did not perform

form it ; but after ten years were expir'd, he got a continuation for the same term, and afterwards another ; so that he kept the Empire as long as he liv'd, by getting the term prolong'd after every ten years. Which is the reason, that though all the succeeding Emperors have taken the Empire for their Lives, yet they celebrate a Festival every ten years, in which the Sovereign Power is continued to them. Afterwards abundance of Decrees were pass'd in Honour to him, among others they made an Order, that Laurel-Trees should be planted before his Palace, upon which should be hung Crowns of Oak, as if he won Victories every Moment, and was always saving some Citizen's Life. Now the Emperor's House is call'd the Palace, not that it had the name by vertue of any Decree, but because *Cæsar* establish'd his Residence at the Palace, or place where the Courts of Justice were held. For the House of *Romulus* was call'd Palace, because the place where it was built, was call'd so before : But since, though the Emperor removes his Dwelling, where-ever he lives, his House is call'd the Palace.

Cæsar

Cæsar likewise receiv'd the name of *Augustus*, from the Senate and People; for though he had a very great desire to be call'd *Romulus*, yet because he reflected that it might give a suspicion to several, that he had a desire to make himself King, he quitted that pursuit, and contented himself with the Quality of *Augustus*, which had been given him as a Mark, that he was something more than other Men, *Augustus* signifying Sacred. Therefore the *Greeks* call'd him *Sebastus*, as who should say, very worthy of Honour and Veneration: Which has since past as well as the name of Emperor, to all the Princes that have reign'd after him, to whom the same Qualities were given, in consideration of their great Power, without calling them either Dictators or Kings, which are Titles for ever banish'd from the Republick, though under this name of Emperor a single Man has the same Authority, and acts with the same dependance that both did heretofore. Thus by vertue of this Quality, they have a power to levy Armies, to raise new Taxes, to declare War, and to make Peace; and in a word, have the pow-

er of Life and Death over all the Senators. And as the dignity of *Censor* is incorporated with that of Emperor, they may also enquire into our Manners; so that they divide the People as they please, and put in and drive out of the Senate whom they will. They are also Chief Priests, by vertue of which they preside over all the Ceremonies of Religion, and present to all Benefices. In a word, the Authority of *Tribune*, which is also annex'd to their dignity of Emperor, renders them inviolable; so that if any one should pronounce any Execration against them, or do them any injury, he is liable to be put to death as a Sacrilegious Person, without form of Process. Therefore the Emperors take all these Titles in order to make it be believ'd, that their Power is deriv'd from the Laws. But besides all this, they have a Priviledge which was never allow'd to any Citizen before them, which is, that they pretend to be above the Laws; so that they are not oblig'd to any Rules, and claim an independence upon all written Laws. In a word, except the Name, they have the same Power and Authority

rity which the Kings had formerly ; for
 the Names of *Augustus* and *Cæsar* sig-
 nifie nothing, and give them no sort of
 power, the last being only the name of
 a Family, and the other a Title of Ho-
 nour. Perhaps that of *Pater Patriæ*,
 gives them the same power over us,
 that a Father has over his Children, tho'
 it was not given them as a mark of
 their Power, but to oblige them to love
 the Citizens as their Children, and the
 Citizens to give them the respect due to
 a Father. Thus the Republick at that
 time chang'd its face, to take a better
 Form of Government, since 'twas im-
 possible it could be maintain'd longer in
 the hands of the People.

For what remains, 'tis impossible any
 longer to give an account of things
 with the same order we have follow'd
 hitherto, because before the Senate and
 the People had information of every
 thing that pass'd, how distant soever the
 Countries were in which it happen'd,
 which not only made every body ac-
 quainted with all events, but gave oc-
 casion to several to set them down in
 Writing besides there were Annals, to
 which one might have recourse to search
 for

for every thing; whereas afterwards abundance of things were done, which no body heard of, and though they might have been put in Writing, yet no body durst depend upon them, by reason of the difficulty of knowing whether they were true or not, especially when every body was perswaded, that nothing was said or done at that time, but to flatter the Emperors, or those who were most in credit with them. Thus several things have got belief in the World, which actually never happen'd, and others which have been brought to pass, have been buried in silence: The great extent of the Empire joyn'd to the multitude of Affairs, not permitting an exact information of all things, since ev'n at *Rome* it self, and in the Provinces subject to the Empire, there happens every day something or other, which is only known to those who have a share in it, the rest being wholly ignorant, that ever such a thing was done. Wherefore I shall pursue the remainder of this History, in following that order of time in which I shall have some grounds to believe things

things pass'd, and shall leave the common opinion, when I have good reasons to think, they did not happen in the time and manner the World has imagin'd.

After *Cæsar* had receiv'd the name of *Augustus*, as we have said, there happen'd one Night a Prodigy very remarkable. The *Tiber* of a sudden overflow'd those parts of *Rome* that lay low, so that one might pass over them in Boats; which presag'd, according to the Soothsayers, that *Cæsar's* Power would still increase, and that he would become absolute Master of *Rome*. Whereupon *Augustus* redoubled his cares for the well governing of the Empire, inasmuch as he was perswaded that it had been conferr'd upon him by the general consent. He publish'd abundance of Laws, not by his own Authority altogether, for he propos'd them first to the People, and gave every body the liberty to change what they thought fit. Yet more he advis'd with the Senators and Men of Quality in all things: For every six Months he chose a Council of fifteen Senators, who were elected by Lot, with whom he often sat to do

do Justice; nay, the Senate had cognizance of all Affairs as before, gave Audiences, and made Answers to the Ambassadors of several Kings and Nations. The People also assembled to choose Magistrates, though they did nothing against *Cæsar's* will, who either propos'd those whom he had a mind should be preferr'd, or left them entirely to the nomination of the People, according to the ancient Statutes; though at the same time he hindred those who were unworthy, from being promoted to Employments, or that Elections should be carried by Faction and Bribery. It is not enough to say, that he dispos'd of all things in general; for as they pass'd in an Age very remote from ours, I think my self oblig'd to enter into a detail of Matters. I don't say this as Abridger of *Dion*, who liv'd in the time of the Emperors *Severus* and *Alexander*, but as *John Xiphilin*, Nephew of the Patriarch of the same Name, who have made this Abridgment of several of the Books of *Dion*, under the Reign of the Emperor *Michael*, the Son of *Ducas*.

While *Augustus* thus recommended himself to the esteem of all the World
by

by his prudent Government, and excellent Laws, *Cornelius Gallus*, to whom he had given the Government of *Egypt*, being exalted with so considerable an Employment, began to forget himself extreamly; for he not only grew unmindful of the respect that was due to *Augustus*, by speaking of him in a very opprobrious manner, but he set up his own Statues throughout *Egypt*, and had all his past Actions engrav'd upon Pyramids. *Largus* one of his friends being his Accuser, *Gallus* was treated very ignominiously, all his Estate being confiscated to *Cæsar's* use, by a Decree of the Senate, which oblig'd him to make himself away. Several afterwards made their court to *Largus*, who grew every day more powerful, though none of the People of Quality; nay, the first time *Proculus* met him, he put his Hand upon his Nose and Mouth immediately, to let those that were in his Company understand, that 'twas not safe to breath before him. Another accosted him with Witneifes, though he had no acquaintance with him, and after he had ask'd him if he knew him, *Largus* answering

no, he desir'd them to bear witness of what he said, as if 'twas not in the power of an ill Man to calumniate those whom he never saw.

In the mean time *Augustus* subdued the *Asturians* and the *Cantabri*, People of *Germany*, and possess'd himself of the greatest part of their Cities, by the means of *Terentius Varro*, and *Titus Carisius* his Lieutenants: Which having before made him open the Gates of the Temple of *Janus*, he now shut them again after their Defeat, as having establish'd a general Peace throughout the whole *Roman Empire*. The House of *Anthony*, which afterwards belong'd to *Agrippa*, and then to *Messala*, being burnt down, *Augustus* gave another to the last, and took *Agrippa* into his own Palace. At the same time the *Prætor Servilius* got a great deal of glory in the publick Sports, by furnishing three hundred Bears for Slaughter, and as many other Savage Beasts of *Africa*. The Senate seeing with what Honour they were treated by *Cæsar*, being consulted by him in all Affairs, endeavour'd on their side to answer his goodness by a great many marks of Affection. They
exempted

exempted him by a Decree as Emperor, from obeying the Laws, giving him full power to do what he pleas'd.

While these things pass'd at *Rome*, the Troops of the Empire made an Expedition, which began and ended almost at the same time; for *Largus* Governor of *Egypt*, having led his Army into *Arabia*, which is called the *Happy*, and had at that time *Samos* for their King, he met no body in his way that oppos'd him: But the Defarts, the heat of the Sun, and the Waters, which are very unwholsom in those parts, made him suffer extreamly, insomuch that the greatest part of his Army died there of certain Distempers altogether extraordinary, which seizing first upon the Brain dissolv'd it, then perfectly choak'd those that were so affected; or else after having run through all the parts of the Body, they settled at last in the Legs, and took away the use of them absolutely. The Remedy was to drink Oyl and Wine, or to bath the Body with it. But there was a scarcity of those two things in the Army, for neither the Country produc'd any, nor had they made great provision of them,

when they set out upon their Expedition. So that the *Barbarians* understanding the miserable condition the *Romans* were reduc'd to, fell upon them, and having beat them in their first Engagements with them, and recover'd some of their Places, they push'd on their opportunity, and not only retriev'd all they had lost, but drove *Largus* quite out of their Country. This was the first time, as far as I can learn, that the *Romans* carried the War into Countries so remote on the side of *Arabia*; for they penetrated as far as a place call'd *Epipula*.

In the mean time *Augustus*, after he had been very often indispos'd, being then Consul the eleventh time with *Calpurnius Piso*, fell into a desperate Sickness, in which they lost all hopes of his Recovery. Having summon'd the Magistrates, and the chief People of *Rome*, he put every thing in order, as if he were upon the point of Death. Yet he nam'd no Successor, tho' 'twas the general opinion, that he would cast his Eyes upon *Marcellus*; but after having discours'd some time of the present State of the Republick, he gave a Memoir to the Consul *Piso*, which contain'd the Revenues of the Empire,
and

and the Armies that were on foot, and his Seal to *Agrippa*. His Distemper afterwards increasing so much, that he could not take any notice of the most important Affairs, *Antonius Musa* by the means of cold Baths and refreshing Potions cur'd him perfectly. In consideration of which Service, *Cæsar* heap'd Wealth upon him, and allow'd him the privilege of wearing a Gold Ring, (for he was a Freedman) which he granted not only to him, but likewise to all those who did, or should for the future follow the same Profession. But what happen'd afterward made it appear, that *Musa* was too forward in attributing to himself an effect of Chance, or rather of Providence; for some time after *Marcellus* falling into such another fit of Sickness, though he us'd him exactly after the same manner, yet he could not save his Life. Every one admir'd that *Cæsar* had not left the Empire to *Marcellus*, (who was descended from that *Marcellus* who fought heretofore against *Hanibal*) especially since he lov'd him tenderly, both as his Son-in-Law, and his Nephew. Besides that he did him all the Honours he could invent; among the rest, in the year of his

Edileship, he cover'd all the *Forum* with a Veil, during the whole year. But he did not think his Capacity sufficiently advanc'd for a Station of that Importance ; for which reason he had a mind either that the People should resume their Authority, or that they should of their own accord offer the Empire to *Agrippa*, whom he knew to be in very great esteem with all the World. After his Recovery, perceiving that this made *Marcellus* look upon *Agrippa* with an ill Eye, he sent the last into *Syria* immediately, to prevent the effects of their misunderstanding. Nevertheless *Agrippa*, after he left *Rome*, did not go so far as *Syria*, but as he was not accusom'd to do things without great consideration, he sent his Lieutenants thither, and staid at *Lesbos* in the mean time. What *Cæsar* did afterwards was extreamly commended, and approv'd of by every one, for he design'd *L. Sestius* for the Consulship in his room, though he had formerly been of *Brutus's* Party, and had even serv'd in his Army, besides that he kept his Pictures in his House, and spoke of him continually with great Respect and Veneration.

neration. And now *Cæsar* being chosen *Dictator* by the People, who would have put a sort of Violence upon him, by presenting four and twenty *Lictors* to him, in order to oblige him to accept of this Dignity, whereupon he rent his Cloaths before them, by which means he dexterously avoided the hatred and aversion that were fix'd to the Name, tho' in effect he had more Power, and receiv'd more Honour than any of the *Dictators* ever had. *Marcus Primus*, Governour of *Macedon*, who had been sent for to *Rome* to answer an Accusation against him, for having made War upon the *Odrisians* without order, sometimes saying in his defence that 'twas by the command of *Augustus*, and sometimes by that of *Marcellus*, *Augustus* appear'd himself in Court, and answer'd negatively to the *Judge*, who ask'd him if he had given that order to *Primus*. Upon which *Murena* the Advocate of *Primus*, after he had declaim'd against him with an extream insolence, having at last demanded of him, why he came thither, and at whose request he had been cited, he made no other answer, but that he was summon'd by the *Republick*.

About the same time, the *Ethiopians* who inhabit the Countreys which are beyond *Egypt*, advancing under the Conduct of *Candace* their Queen, as far as the City of *Elephantis*, ravag'd all they found in their way. Upon this News, *C. Petronius* Governour of *Egypt*, march'd against them, oblig'd them to return faster than they came; and he follow'd them so close, that entring with them into their Countrey after several Battels in which they were always beaten, he took *Tanape*, the Capitol of the Kingdom, and left a Garrison in it. After which being unwilling to stay longer there, and not being able to make a further progress, he return'd to *Egypt*. But some time after, the *Ethiopians* falling upon the Garrisons he had left, he was oblig'd to make a second Expedition, in which he disengag'd his own People, and drove the Enemy back again.

Augustus being gone to *Sicily*, to put the Affairs of that Island into some order, the People rais'd a Sedition at *Rome*, at the Election of *Consuls*; for tho' their Power was very moderate, yet as soon as they could once get the Mastery
in

in any thing, 'twas impossible they should be quiet. *Augustus* was highly displeas'd at it, and since he could not be always at *Rome*, he sent for *Agrippa*, and giving him *Julia*, who was then a Widdow in Marriage, made him Governour of *Rome*. 'Tis said, *Mæcenæ* advis'd *Augustus* to it, for says he, ' Since ' you have rais'd *Agrippa* to such great ' Honours, you must necessarily either ' put him to Death, or make him your Son ' in Law. *Augustus*, after this pass'd into *Greece*, where he caress'd the *Lacedæmonians* extreamly, and gave them great Priviledges upon the account of the safe retreat they had afforded *Livia* formerly, when she fled with her Husband *Nero*. On the contrary he us'd the *Athenians* very ill, and among other things took *Ægina* from them. He also reduc'd some other Towns to Slavery, which he thought had given some cause of Complaint to the *Roman* Citizens. *Phraates* fearing at that time, lest *Cæsar* should enter with an Army into his Dominions, sent him back the Standards that had been taken in the defeat of *Crassus*. *Cæsar* was extreamly overjoy'd to see that he had recover'd without

out a blow what had been lost in mighty Battels ; insomuch that upon this occasion he made Sacrifices, and entred *Rome* in Triumph.

He was very much commended at this time, for his moderation in not endeavouring to enlarge the Empire, and in being satisfied with the Present State of Affairs. During the abode he made in *Asia*, where he confirm'd some Princes in their Royalties, depriv'd others ; condemn'd some Kings to lose their Dominions, and extreamly applauded others in declaring them Friends and Allies of the *Roman* People, there came a World of Embassies to him from all parts ; The very *Indians* who had sent Ambassadors to him before, confirm'd their alliance at that time, and made him abundance of Presents, among other things of some Tygers, which was the first time that those sorts of Beasts were seen at *Rome*, and of a young Man without Arms, whose Feet supply'd the want of Hands ; so that he could draw a Bow, and play upon the Flute with his Feet as 'twas reported. About the same time, *Zamarchus* an *Indian Sophist*, whether out of Vanity, or because he was broke with Age,

Age, after the custom of his Countrey, threw himself alive into a burning Pile. *Cæsar* being upon his return to *Rome*, the *Romans* were preparing to meet him; but he entred the City at Night according to his custom, whenever he went out of *Rome*, or came in, always taking that time that he might incommode no body. Afterwards being resolv'd to reform the Senate a second time, and to reduce them to a fix'd number, he made several of them very uneasy, which was the occasion of many Conspiracies against his Life, which made him oblige several to kill themselves; *Murena*, who had formerly spoke to him with a great deal of Liberty, was one. He also condemned some to Death, among others the Son of *Lepidus*, and treated the Father with the last contempt. For not being satisfy'd with having oblig'd him to come out of the Countrey to *Rome* against his Will, he made him appear in all Assemblies, that his fall and loss of Power, might render him in some measure ridiculous: Yet he neither put him to Death, nor depriv'd him as long as he liv'd, of the Charge of High Priest. And now it being propos'd in the Senate to make

Cæsar

Cæsar a Guard of Senators, every Man serving in his turn ; *Antistius* not daring to oppose the motion directly, and on the other side being unwilling to give his consent : ‘ Certainly, Gentlemen, ‘ says he, I am very unfit to sleep near ‘ *Cæsar*, because I am apt to snore. And tho’ he had done several things against his service, yet he never receiv’d any hurt upon that account.

Cæsar having attempted to make an invective against the Vanity of Women, and the Incontinence of Men, he was laugh’d at for his pains, in as much as the passages of his own Family, ought to have made him silent in such matters ; for besides that he entertain’d several Women, he liv’d in a scandalous submission to the Will of *Livia*, whom he had taken from her Husband. So that once a certain Youth, who was accus’d of Marrying the Woman with whom he had before committed Adultery, being brought before him to receive what punishment he should think fit, he found himself in a great dilemma ; for on one side he durst not send him away free, and on the other side he did not well know how to punish him.

But

But after some deliberation he made this Answer. 'The Civil Wars, says he, have
 ' occasion'd many disorders among us,
 ' which 'tis not necessary to call to mind;
 ' wherefore let us only think of pre-
 ' venting the like for the future. *Pylades*
 and *Bathillus*, two famous Comedians,
 were in such vogue at that time, that the
 People throng'd to that degree to see
 them upon the Theatre, that disorders
 frequently happen'd; on which occasion
Cæsar being displeas'd one Day with the
 first of them, he replied, ' 'Tis for your
 ' Interest, *Cæsar*, that the People should
 ' have nothing else in their Thoughts.
 About the same time there was a misun-
 derstanding between *Cæsar* and *Mecænas*,
 about the Wife of the latter, her Name
 was *Terentia*, and her Husband was so
 passionately fond of her, that she was
 encourag'd to contend with *Livia* for
 Beauty. There was a Sea Monster
 taken at this time of twenty Foot broad,
 and three times as long, which resem-
 bled a Woman in all parts but the Head.

Licinius, *Julius Cæsar*'s Freedman, to
 whom *Augustus* had given the Govern-
 ment of *Gaul*, mov'd by an insatiable
 avarice, made use of the *Roman* Name
 and

and Authority, to do a great many ill things in that Countrey. His Villany grew to that height, that he added two Months more to the Year, because at the end of every Month, the *Gauls* were oblig'd to pay a certain Tribute to the Republick. Thus when he was accus'd before *Augustus* and Prosecuted with Vigour, sometimes *Cæsar* appear'd to be surpriz'd with what was laid to his charge, and sometimes excus'd *Licinius*; now he said 'twas all done without his knowledge, and now he seem'd to give no credit to it, using several artifices to cover his shame, for having given such an Employment to so unworthy a Man. But *Licinius* cunningly evaded all the Prosecution, and laugh'd at them; for when he saw that *Augustus* was enrag'd against him, and upon the point of punishing him, he invited him to his House, where he shew'd him great heaps of Gold and Silver, with abundance of other very valuable things pil'd up together. See, my Lord, said he to him, ' I have collected all this for the good of your
' self and the Republick, lest such a
' quantity of Wealth should have ex-
' cited the *Barbarians* to an Insurrection
' against

‘ against the *Romans*. I have preserv’d
 ‘ it all for you, and at this time make a
 ‘ Present of it to you. By this means
 he escap’d the danger, as if he had only
 ruin’d these *Barbarians* to oblige the Em-
 peror.

After this *Augustus* sent *Tiberius* and
Drusus to the War. They vanquish’d
 those Nations that inhabited the Banks
 of the *Danube*, and beat the *Germans*
 near the *Ocean*. *Drusus* died very young,
 but *Tiberius* out-liv’d *Augustus*, and suc-
 ceeded him in the Empire, tho’ his Daugh-
 ter *Julia* had had two Sons by *Agrippa*,
 whom he had adopted, and declar’d *Cæ-*
sars, in order to secure himself against
 all manner of Conspiracies. He did not
 so much as wait till they were arriv’d to
 Manhood, but declar’d them his Succes-
 sors in their Youth, foreseeing that his
 Coat of Mail which he usually wore un-
 der his Robes when he went to the Se-
 nate, would be of no great defence to
 him if there should be any attempt
 made upon his Life; tho’ the *Romans* came
 to compliment him with great marks
 of affection in the beginning of the Year,
 and made him a very considerable Pre-
 sent of Money, some more, and some
 less

less : Which he generously return'd, and even more, not only to the Senators, but to others. He serv'd his Friends with so much Zeal, that one Day *Mecænas* and *Apuleius* being very roughly us'd at the Bar, because they had spoke in defence of a certain Adulterer, he came himself into Court, and sitting in the *Pretor's* Seat, he did nothing against the Authority of the Court, only commanded the Accuser not to speak injuriously of his Friends, and then withdrew. Another time as he was complaining to one *Cornelius* of the disorderly life which his Wife led ; the other answering that he had married her by his advice, he grew very angry at the freedom of the reply, yet without saying or doing any thing that was out of measure, he went out of the Court, and returning a little after, said to his Friends, ' I had rather constrain my self
' to do a thing against the usual forms,
' than be compell'd to offer Violence to
' any one. I have somewhat to say of *Vedius Pollio*, who died about this time, tho' he never did any thing in his Life that deserv'd to be mention'd, he was the Son of a Freedman, yet by reason of
his

his extraordinary Riches and his inhuman temper, all the Histories make mention of him. He had Fishponds full of Lampreys, which he fed with humane flesh, so that he often threw his Slaves in to be devour'd by them. Having once invited *Augustus* to Dine with him, a Page broke a Chrystal Glass, upon which he commanded him immediately to be thrown to the Lampreys. The Child fell prostrate at his Feet for mercy, and *Augustus*, who also interceded for him, seeing *Pollio* inexorable ; ' Bring me, ' says he to the Page, all the rest of the ' Glasses, for I have a use for them : Which being done, he broke them all. Upon this *Pollio* having somewhat else to mind than a broken Glass, was appeas'd against his will. Dying soon after, he left his House to *Augustus* with a Seat of Pleasure call'd *Pausilypa*, which lies between *Naples* and *Puteoli*. But *Cæsar* to abolish the Memory of *Pollio* at *Rome*, pull'd his House to the ground, and built a Gallery in its room, which he call'd by the Name of *Livia*. He afterwards sent several Colonies to divers Places, among the rest into *Gaul* and *Spain*, and built a Temple to *Romulus*, supported by seven-

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ty six Pillars. *Cæsar* happening to live just as many Years, many have believ'd that 'twas not an effect of chance, but that the Gods had permitted this occurrence by a secret of their Providence.

In the mean time *Drusus*, the Brother of *Tiberius*, being sent against the *Celti* who live beyond the *Rhine*, after he had possess'd himself of all the Countrey which was in his way, advanc'd as far as the *Elbe*, which coming from the Mountains swells extreamly in the Plain, then goes to discharge it self in the Northern Ocean. 'Tis reported that in those Parts, a Woman of a prodigious size met him, and said to him, 'Whither wouldst thou go, ambitious and 'insatiable *Drusus* ? The Fates permit 'thee not to extend thy Conquests: Retire then, for all thy exploits will soon 'end with thy Life. Tho' he obey'd, and made his retreat immediately, yet he died in his return to *Rome*. To comfort *Livia* for this loss, her Statues were erected, and she was registred in the number of Mothers, who had had three Children. For there was an Order made by the Authority of the Senate, and afterwards confirm'd by the Emperor, that

that granted the same Priviledges to some Women, as to those who had brought forth three Children: So that very far from being subject to the penalties of barren Women, they on the contrary enjoy'd all the advantages granted to the most fruitful, being capable among other things of receiving Legacies; which seems rather to be a Decree of the Gods than of Men. *Cæsar* afterwards expos'd a List of all the Senators, which has been always practis'd since, and increas'd the Fines of those, who absented themselves without a reasonable excuse. But the thing resting there by reason of the multitude of Delinquents, he ordered that whenever they happen'd to be in great number, they should cast Lots, and every fifth Man was to be punish'd. When he was absent, the Senate us'd to meet, and consider of several Affairs that were before them; but tho' the thing was Ingross'd, yet it had not the force of a Decree. 'Twas call'd only the Authority of the Senate, as if it had been nothing but a form to shew the opinions of the Senators, which is express'd in Latin by a Phrase, which is not to be rendred in

Greek by a single Word. *Augustus* affected above all things to appear popular: To give you an Instance of this, a Soldier once, who had serv'd under him, desir'd him to plead his Cause, *Cæsar* being hindred at that time by something or other, order'd one of his Friends to go for him: ' But the Soldier having replied to him in Anger, ' When you had occasion for me, I ' sent no body in my room, and have ' run through many Dangers to serve ' you; he went immediately to the Court, and pleaded for him. Another time one of his Friends being accus'd of some Crime, he went to defend him, and brought him off, after having first imparted the thing to the Senate. And he was so far from designing any hurt to the Accuser, though he had been violent upon him in his Pleading, that one day when he was brought before him as *Censor*, for having committed some fault in point of Conduct, he acquitted him. He said, that the corruption which was then among Mankind, made that liberty of speaking necessary. But he punish'd those who were accus'd of conspiring against his Life; and as
it

it was not lawful to give a Slave the torture to make him witness against his Master, he order'd that when-ever the case happen'd, the Slave should be sold to him or the Republick, that by this means, having no longer any dependence upon the Person accus'd, he might be put to the Rack. Some found fault with him, for eluding by this Order the intention of the Law; though others said, that this Regulation was necessary, by reason of the frequent Conspiracies that were form'd as well against him, as the rest of the Magistrates. Afterwards he propos'd again the Resignation of his Power, another ten years being expir'd, but he was oblig'd to keep it still. Though he was born in the Month of *September*, yet he call'd the preceding Month by his Name, because he had been first created Consul, and had perform'd several great things in the same Month, of which he was not a little vain.

The Death of *Mæcenas*, which happen'd about this time, afflicted him extremely ; for he had not only render'd him very considerable Services, but whenever he gave too much way to his Passi-

on, he soften'd and compos'd his Mind. There needs but this one Instance to prove what I have said, upon a day of Sessions, as *Cæsar* was going in all appearance to condemn several Persons to Death, *Mecenas* who was there not being able to speak to him for the Crowd, wrote these words in a Billet, ' Rise, Executioner: Then threw it to him, as if it had been something else, upon which he rose immediately without condemning any body. And he was so far from taking such liberties amiss, that he was glad when his Friends attempted to give a check to his Passion, whenever he gave a loose to it, either from his natural Disposition, or the trouble and perplexity of his Affairs. *Mæcenas* made him his Heir, though he had given him some cause of complaint with relation to his Wife. 'Twas he who first built the hot Baths in *Rome*, and was the Inventer of those Abbreviations, which are us'd in Short-hand, having taught several how to use them by the means of *Aquila* his Freedman. About the same time by reason of the frequent Fires that happen'd, the People establish'd Commissaries of Quarters,

who

who were to preside in their Districts with the Robe of Magistrate, and each of them was to have two Lictors before them. *Cæsar* being extreamly displeas'd to see *Caius* and *Lucius*, the Sons of his Daughter by *Agrippa*, not only lead a very loose Life, but also that the first should be so indiscreet, as to pretend to the Consulship, though he was not arriv'd to the Age requir'd by Law, pray'd to the Gods, that he might never see the time again, when a Consul should be chosen that was under twenty years of Age, as it had happen'd to himself.

‘ But *Caius* still pursuing his demand, he
 ‘ told him, that such a Station was to
 ‘ be fill'd by such only who were of an
 ‘ unblemish'd Conversation, and had
 ‘ Vertue enough to put a stop to the
 ‘ Violence of the *Roman* People. Afterwards to oblige them to be more reserv'd in their Conduct, he made *Tiberius* Tribune for five years, and gave him the Government of *Armenia*, which had revolted against the *Romans*. But that only serv'd to exasperate them the more, seeing how they were slighted, and to irritate them against *Tiberius*, who being apprehensive of their Resent-

ments, retir'd to *Rhodes*, under a pretence of going to follow his Studies. And that *Lucius* and *Caius* might be wholly unacquainted with his Designs, he not only carried no Strangers with him, but he left behind him some of his best Friends. Though others pretend, the occasion of this Journey was to absent himself from *Julia* his Wife, whose Conduct was grown unsufferable; for he left her at *Rome*.

In the mean time as there was an infinite number of People whom the Publick furnish'd with Corn, *Augustus* reduc'd them to two hundred thousand, and gave to the People, as some have writ, four Crowns *per* Head, with publick Sports, in which six and thirty Crocodiles were kill'd, the water being brought into the *Circus Flaminianus*. He also made two Colonels of the Guards, for I shall call them so for the future, since Custom has given them that Name. And now the Debaucheries of *Julia* were grown to that height, that she pass'd whole Nights in the publick places, and gave a loose to all manner of Excesses. When *Cæsar* came to know it, he was inflam'd against her
to

to the last degree ; for tho' he had before suspected that she did not lead the most retir'd Life imaginable, yet he had no certain knowledge of her scandalous Courses, for Princes know every thing but what belongs to themselves ; and as they can do nothing that is not immediately made publick, so they are the last that are made acquainted with their own Actions. No sooner was *Cæsar* assur'd of this, but he grew into such a rage, that he could no longer keep it within the bounds of his own Palace, but gave information of it to a full Senate. *Julia* was banish'd into the Island of *Pandateria*, whither her Mother *Scribonia* follow'd her of her own accord. Among those who had receiv'd favours from her, *Julius Antonius*, who had hopes of coming to the Empire by her means, was put to Death, with several other People of Condition, and the rest were banish'd into several Islands. Several other Women being accus'd of the same Crime, he did not admit all that was brought against them, but assign'd a certain time, before which all that was past, should be buried in Oblivion : so that tho' he had us'd his
own

own Daughter with the utmost rigour, yet he shew'd Indulgence to others. He also said, that he should rather have chosen to be the Father of *Phæbe*, than of *Julia*. This *Phæbe* was *Julia's* Woman, who after she had been the Confident of her Debauches, kill'd her self, which made *Cæsar* admire her.

Afterwards when *Caius* went to make War in *Armenia*, *Tiberius* came to meet him at *Chios*, where he not only shew'd him very great Respect, and gave him place upon all occasions, but even to all those of his Retinue. *Phraates* King of the *Parthians*, having writ to *Augustus* to perswade him to hearken to Peace, he made him an answer, in which without giving him the Quality of King, he commanded him to evacuate *Armenia*; but *Phraates* being no ways frightened with this Bravado, sent him a very fierce reply, assuming the Title of King of Kings, and calling him nothing but *Cæsar*. Nevertheless there was a Peace concluded as soon as *Caius* was arriv'd in *Syria*, upon condition that the *Parthian* should restore *Armenia*, which he consented to the more willingly, because he was afraid of an Insurrection at home.

Lucius

Lucius and *Caius* dying soon after, *Tiberius* came back to *Rome*. He had acquir'd by the study of the Stars, a perfect knowledge of Futurity, and besides, had a famous Astrologer in his Service call'd *Thrasyllus*, who knew every thing that was to happen, as well to himself as others. 'Tis said that *Tiberius* while he was at *Rhodes*, intended one day to throw him down a Precipice, because he was the only Man that knew his thoughts; but observing him to be very melancholy, he ask'd him the reason of it; he replied, that he was threatened with a very great danger; which fill'd him with such admiration, that he forbore to execute his Design. In a word, he could presage things so well, that when he saw at a distance the Ship that brought *Tiberius* the news of his being recall'd to *Rome*, he told him the thing before the Ship arriv'd. The Military Tribunes, and the chief Men of every City turn by turn, carried the Bodies of *Caius* and *Lucius* to *Rome*, and there hung up in the publick Hall, the Bucklers and Golden Lances which had been given them by the Knights, when they began their Youth. The People
having

having once given the name of *Lord* to *Augustus*, he not only refus'd to accept of it, but forbid them to do so for the time to come. After which, a third ten years being expir'd, he was oblig'd to keep the Empire still for ten years longer. Being now advanc'd in Age, he became less subject to Passion, so that he did not give such frequent cause of complaint to the Senators, as he was wont. The Palace being burnt, tho' several Persons made him great offers to repair the Damage, he contented himself with taking a piece of Gold of every Corporation, and a Drachma of every private Man. A piece of Gold among the *Romans*, is a piece of Money that is valued at twenty five *Drachma's*. The *Greeks* call it χρῆσμον. When *Augustus* had rebuilt the Palace, he made it all publick, whether 'twas because the People had contributed to its Re-establishment, or because being High Priest, he thought that his House ought to belong to the Publick, as well as himself. The People being solicitous with him to recal his Daughter, he made answer, that they should sooner see Water and Fire mixed together; which

which made them cast a great deal of Fire into the *Tyber*, but without effect : Tho' at length he yielded by a sort of constraint to permit her to quit the Island, and to come into the *Terra Firma*.

Several Persons conspir'd against him, but the chief of them all was *Cornelius Cinna*, the Son of a Daughter of *Pompey the Great*, which made him extremely uneasy : For on one side he would not put them to Death, because he did not apprehend himself to be the more secure in that case ; and on the other, he durst not discharge them, for fear of authorizing the crime by Impunity. He could not rest Day or Night for the Anxiety it gave him, inso-much that *Livia* having once ask'd him the reason of it, *Augustus* replied,
 ' Who can be at rest, My Dear Wife,
 ' in the midst of so many Enemies ?
 ' Don't you see People conspiring every day against Me, and my Empire ?
 ' And the Example of those whom I
 ' have punish'd, is so far from lessening
 ' their Number, that on the contrary,
 ' they are as eager for my Destruction,
 ' as if they were to purchase a Reward,
 ' and desire nothing so much, as to per-
 ' risk

' risk in the pursuit of it. It is not to
 ' be wondred at, said she, that People
 ' should attempt upon your Life; for
 ' besides that there is nothing extraor-
 ' dinary in that, it is impossible that
 ' you should be able to rule so great an
 ' Empire, without doing many things
 ' that draw several Enemies upon you.
 ' 'Tis not only Impracticable, that a
 ' Prince should please every Body, but
 ' let him be never so Just, there is a
 ' necessity that his Government must
 ' displease a great many. First of all,
 ' the number of the Good, bears no
 ' proportion to that of the Bad, whose
 ' various Passions it is impossible ever
 ' to satisfy. In the second place, a-
 ' mong the Good themselves, there are
 ' many who pretend to more than can
 ' be granted them, or not being able
 ' to endure to see themselves inferior to
 ' others, throw the blame upon him that
 ' governs. So that whether they find
 ' fault with the Person of the Prince,
 ' or his Administration, it is impossible
 ' to avoid the hatred either of one, or
 ' the other. I am of opinion then, that
 ' more is to be gain'd in this matter by
 ' Mercy, than by Cruelty, inasmuch as
 ' they

' they who Pardon, not only gain
 ' the Affection of those to whom they
 ' have been Gentle, so as to make them
 ' seek all occasions of shewing their
 ' Gratitude; but they also win the e-
 ' steem of all the rest, who durst not
 ' for the time to come attempt any
 ' thing against them. On the other
 ' side, as to those who are inexorable,
 ' besides that their Enemies retain an
 ' inveterate hatred for them, all the World
 ' in general declares against them, so
 ' that People are continually forming
 ' Plots against them, to prevent their
 ' own Destruction. Don't you see how
 ' rarely Physicians have recourse to vi-
 ' olent Methods in the cure of Distem-
 ' pers, and that on the other side they
 ' recover many People by using Fomen-
 ' tations, and gentle Remedies. Be per-
 ' swaded, Sir, that 'tis with the Distem-
 ' pers of the Body, as with those of the
 ' Mind, which are not so different, but
 ' the one often receives the same im-
 ' pressions as the other, what contrari-
 ' ety soever there may be in their Sub-
 ' stances. Fear dejects the Mind, An-
 ' ger inflames it, Grief pierces it, and
 ' Hope exalts it: So that tho' the Body
 ' and

‘ and Mind appear very opposite, yet
 ‘ there is a very near relation between
 ‘ them, which is the reason that their
 ‘ Distempers ought to be handled alike.
 ‘ Yet more, as a discourse full of can-
 ‘ dour and gentleness, composes a Man
 ‘ in Passion, and on the other side,
 ‘ rude Words provoke those who are
 ‘ of the gentlest Nature: So Cruelty
 ‘ irritates the softest Tempers, and Cle-
 ‘ mency wins upon the fiercest Spirits;
 ‘ for every violent Action, let it be ne-
 ‘ ver so just, must displease, whereas
 ‘ mildness gains all Mankind. For
 ‘ which reason in order to obtain the
 ‘ performance of any difficult thing,
 ‘ Perswasion is of more service than
 ‘ Force. In a word, Nature gives so
 ‘ great a propensity to both, that the
 ‘ wildest Beasts are to be tam’d by Gen-
 ‘ tleness, and the most Savage, by giv-
 ‘ ing them Food; whereas the tamest
 ‘ and most timorous, are often made
 ‘ formidable by ill Treatment and Pro-
 ‘ vocation. I don’t say this to insinu-
 ‘ ate, that all in general are to be par-
 ‘ don’d that are culpable: On the con-
 ‘ trary, I advise you to give no quar-
 ‘ ter to the Seditious, to the Profane,
 ‘ to

‘ to disturbers of the Publick Peace, and
 ‘ in a word, to those who run on in their
 ‘ Crimes, without giving any hopes of
 ‘ Amendment ; just as Physicians cut off
 ‘ those Members entirely, that give no
 ‘ Symptoms of doing well.

‘ As for those who fall into Errors
 ‘ through the rashness of Youth, want
 ‘ of Experience or Prudence, whether
 ‘ of themselves, or by the instigation of
 ‘ others, I advise you to correct them
 ‘ gently, to frighten them, and some-
 ‘ times to punish them more or less
 ‘ roughly, according as the case requires.
 ‘ Thus without exposing your self to a-
 ‘ ny danger you may banish some, and
 ‘ disgrace others. Sometimes you may
 ‘ condemn these to a pecuniary Punish-
 ‘ ment, sometimes banish those into some
 ‘ remote City, or some distant Coun-
 ‘ try. Several have been seen to forsake
 ‘ their ill Courses, upon losing what
 ‘ they made pretensions to after a long
 ‘ pursuit; and others have reform’d
 ‘ themselves, upon considering the ab-
 ‘ ject condition their follies had plung’d
 ‘ them into, though a Man of Spirit
 ‘ would rather chuse to die, than to
 ‘ see himself reduc’d to these Extremi-
 N ties.

ties. Which is a sufficient evidence,
 that these sorts of Punishments are so
 far from being too mild, that on the
 contrary, they are the most effectual;
 besides that by this means we do our
 business, and entirely secure our selves.
 Yet further, we should never be able
 to hinder the World from believing,
 that we put some to Death for their
 Estates, some out of fear of their
 Credit, and others out of Envy, with
 relation to their Merit, especially con-
 sidering the difficulty of perswading
 People that a private Man who has no
 Supports, durst make an attempt up-
 on one who is establish'd in so high
 a degree of Power, and Master of so
 great an Empire. For which reason
 some would talk as I have said, and
 others would tax us with entertaining
 false Reports, inasmuch as those who
 spread them, having receiv'd Money
 from the Enemies of those whom they
 accuse, or having been deny'd some
 favour which they had ask'd of them,
 invent a great many things to undo
 them, and not only charge them with
 some facts that are past, or give a
 jealousy of them for the future, but
 pre-

' pretend to lay hold of every word
 ' they have said, and ev'n accuse them
 ' of keeping silence upon certain oc-
 ' casions, or only of answering by their
 ' Tears or Laughter, And a great ma-
 ' ny other things after this sort, which,
 ' admitting they were true, are not fit
 ' to be taken notice of by Men of any
 ' Spirit or Condition, and less to be re-
 ' ported to you, since the ignorance of
 ' them is no ways prejudicial to you,
 ' whereas the knowledge of them must
 ' put you into some disorder in spite of
 ' your very self. This also makes People
 ' believe, that we condemn some with-
 ' out form of Process, and that we only
 ' suppose others guilty of Crimes, in
 ' order to put them to Death against all
 ' manner of reason: For 'twill never
 ' be believ'd, that we have taken the
 ' Depositions of Witnesses, and observ'd
 ' all the Formalities that are usual in
 ' such cases; and though there is no
 ' manner of ground for this opinion,
 ' yet 'tis always the sense of the Peo-
 ' ple, when any one has been execu-
 ' ted.

' But, my Dear *Augustus*, you ought
 ' not only to avoid committing the

' least Injustice, but also to prevent be-
 ' ing accus'd of it. For though 'tis suf-
 ' ficient for private Men to commit no
 ' faults, a Prince should be exempt from
 ' the very suspicion of them. You rule
 ' over Men, and not Beasts, and you
 ' have but one way to obtain their
 ' Good-wills, which is to make them
 ' believe that you'l hurt no body, not
 ' only from your own Inclination, but
 ' even when the deportments of sever-
 ' ral Persons should seem to oblige you
 ' to it. A Man may make himself fear'd
 ' by force, but love must be inspir'd by
 ' Gentleness and Clemency; which is
 ' easily obtain'd, when all People see
 ' that they are kindly us'd. On the
 ' contrary, if they once believe that a-
 ' ny one has been condemn'd unjustly,
 ' the fear they are in of the like acci-
 ' dent, necessarily draws after it a hatred
 ' for the Author. Now for a Man to
 ' maintain his Power by fear, besides
 ' that the thing is odious in it self, is
 ' to get nothing in the end but Mis-
 ' chief; inasmuch as most Men are of
 ' opinion, that though others may take
 ' revenge for the least injuries that are
 ' done to them, yet Princes ought to
 ' take

‘ take notice only of those who wrong
 ‘ the Commonwealth, and to make no
 ‘ account of them who directly attempt
 ‘ upon themselves. The reason of that
 ‘ is, because they are suppos’d to be
 ‘ well guarded, and secure from all man-
 ‘ ner of danger, while those who con-
 ‘ spire against them, are judg’d to be
 ‘ weak in comparison. Thus as I am
 ‘ strongly perswaded of these Truths, I
 ‘ advise you to put none of those to
 ‘ Death, whom you have caus’d to be
 ‘ apprehended; for in a word, Princes
 ‘ are made to defend their Subjects, not
 ‘ only against their Enemies abroad, but
 ‘ likewise those at home, and not to
 ‘ vex and torment them. And there is
 ‘ much more glory in saving the Life
 ‘ of a Citizen, than in destroying it.
 ‘ A Prince should govern with sweet-
 ‘ ness, gain the love of his People by
 ‘ his good Deeds, correct them gently
 ‘ when they fall into Errors, and de-
 ‘ prive them of the power of doing ill,
 ‘ if they persist in their bad Courses. He
 ‘ ought likewise to pity those who make
 ‘ slips through Weakness, and to help
 ‘ to set them right before they are quite
 ‘ lost. ’Tis a piece of great Prudence,

‘ and which belongs to none but Men
 ‘ of Power, to overlook the faults of
 ‘ the Populace, since if all Crimes were
 ‘ to be punish’d with Rigour, the great-
 ‘ est part of the Earth would soon be a
 ‘ Wilderness.

‘ I advise you then, My Dear *Aug-*
 ‘ *ustus*, not to put those to Death whom
 ‘ you have in Custody, but to punish
 ‘ them in another manner, which may
 ‘ make them incapable of doing you
 ‘ any hurt for the time to come. For
 ‘ what prejudice can you receive from
 ‘ a Man that is banish’d into an Island,
 ‘ or confin’d to some Country-House,
 ‘ where he shall not only be without a
 ‘ retinue of Servants, but where he may
 ‘ be kept under a secure Guard, if it be
 ‘ thought necessary. If indeed we had
 ‘ any Enemies Country in our Neigh-
 ‘ bourhood, or if we were not absolute
 ‘ Masters of the Seas round about us,
 ‘ so that after having conspir’d against
 ‘ us, they might find some safe Retreat;
 ‘ or if *Italy* were full of Cities girt with
 ‘ strong Walls, and provided with eve-
 ‘ ry thing necessary to make a long Re-
 ‘ sistance, so that we might have some
 ‘ reason to fear those who should seize
 ‘ upon

' upon them; then I confess we ought
 ' to take other Measures. But since all
 ' the Towns are out of a condition to
 ' sustain a Siege, since the Enemies of
 ' the Empire are so remote, since there
 ' are so many Seas, Countries, Rivers,
 ' and inaccessible Mountains between
 ' them; is there any reason to fear pri-
 ' vate Men without Arms, without
 ' Support, who may be shut up in the
 ' midst of your Dominions, and every
 ' where surrounded with your Armies?
 ' Let us begin then to day to make this
 ' Experience, of those who have conspir'd
 ' against you, perhaps they'l change their
 ' Conduct, and their Example may in-
 ' cline others to do the like. You ought
 ' first to consider that *Cornelius* who is
 ' of the number, is a Man of Quality;
 ' and in the second place, that Severi-
 ' ty doth not cut off the Root of the
 ' Mischief, which is a truth that you
 ' and all Mankind ought to rest satis-
 ' fied in: For 'twould be an excellent
 ' method indeed, if it would render
 ' Men Wise and Prudent, and would ob-
 ' lige them to love sincerely against
 ' their Wills. But while the Sword pier-
 ' ces the Bodies of some, it alienates at

' the same time the Minds of others,
 ' and a Prince is so far from gaining
 ' Friends by shedding of Blood, that eve-
 ' ry day's experience tells us, that the
 ' fear People are under of the like Usage,
 ' begets an irreconcilable hatred against
 ' the Author of the Punishment. On
 ' the contrary, those who are forgiven
 ' repent of what they would have done,
 ' are asham'd of their Designs, and are
 ' so far from any further Attempts a-
 ' gainst their Benefactor, that they en-
 ' deavour to give him testimonies of
 ' their Gratitude, in order to obtain
 ' a greater Recompence; because they
 ' perswade themselves, that they have
 ' reason to expect all things from a
 ' Man who have sav'd their Lives, after
 ' they had conspir'd against him, if
 ' they happen to do him any Signal Ser-
 ' vice. Believe me then, My Dear Hus-
 ' band, suffer your self to be prevail'd
 ' with by my Reasons, and to change
 ' your Custom; by this means you'l
 ' give occasion to believe, that all the
 ' former Violences were nothing but a
 ' pure effect of the necessity of the
 ' time, and that you gave into it by
 ' constraint, seeing it was not possible of

‘ a sudden, to change the popular
 ‘ Government in so great a City, into
 ‘ a Monarchy, without effusion of Blood;
 ‘ whereas if you follow the contrary o-
 ‘ pinion, the People will rest perswa-
 ‘ ded, that you took a pleasure in all the
 ‘ former Cruelties.

This Discourse of *Livia*, made so deep an impression upon the mind of *Augustus*, that he immediately set all the Prisoners at liberty, after having given them a light Reprimand, and afterwards preferr’d *Cornelius* to the Consulship, and gain’d his affection to that degree, as also that of all the rest, that there was not only ever after no Conspiracy against his Life, but no body ever had the least thought of it. Under the Consulship of *Cornelius* and *Valerius Messala*, there happen’d a terrible Earthquake, and the *Tyber* overflow’d with that force, that it threw down the Bridge that was built upon it, and for seven days together, one might go in a Boat all over *Rome*. The *Roman* People about this time had in their Service three and twenty *Legions*, of which there remains at present but nineteen. The second, which is call’d *Augustalis*, has
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its Winter-Quarters in *England*. Of the three thirds, the first firnam'd *Gallica* in *Phœnicia*; the next call'd the *Cyrenian* in *Arabia*; and the other known also under the name of *Augustalis* in *Numidia*. The fourth call'd *Scythica* in *Syria*; the fifth call'd the *Macedonian* in *Dacia*. Of the two sixths, that which is nam'd the *Victorious* in the lower part of *England*, and the other call'd the *Iron-Legion* in *Judea*. The seventh firnamed the *Claudian* in upper *Myfia*. The eighth also call'd *Augustalis* in the upper *Germany*; the tenth, call'd the *Twin*, because 'tis compos'd of two, which were united in the upper *Pannonia*; the eleventh call'd the *Claudian* in the lower *Myfia*; (for there are two which bear the name of *Claudius*, because in the Sedition which happen'd under *Camillas*, they made no Resistance) the twelfth firnamed the *Thunderer* in *Cappadocia*; the thirteenth, which is one of the *Twins* in *Dacia*; the fourteenth in upper *Pannonia*; the fifteenth call'd *Apollinaris* in *Cappadocia*; the last is the twentieth call'd the *Valerian* and the *Victorious* both together. These are what is left of the *Legions*, which were in the
time

time of *Augustus* : The rest have been either quite broke, or incorporated into others, which is thought to be the reason that some of them were call'd *Twins*. There are besides these the Emperors Guards, which are divided into ten Companies, and six thousand Men for the guard of the City, divided likewise into four *Brigades*. There is also a good Body of foreign Horsemaintain'd, among the rest the *Batavians*, so call'd from the name of their Country, which is an Island form'd by the *Rhine*, whose Inhabitants are in reputation for being excellent Horsemen.

Thus *Augustus* having occasion for a great deal of Money to keep up so many Troops, exacted the twentieth part of Inheritances, Legacies, and Donations from the Dead; in which he excepted the Poor, and near Relations, pretending in that respect to act according to the directions found in the Memoirs of *Cæsar*. This made the *Romans* very uneasie, as also the Famine about this time, which was so severe, that they were forc'd to banish the Gladiators and the Slaves that came for Sale a hundred Miles from *Rome*. Every body

dy reform'd his Train, *Augustus* himself discharg'd several of his Officers, and there was a general cessation of all Business. When the Famine was at an end, *Augustus* in the name of *Germanicus*, the Son of *Drusus*, and of his Brother, gave publick Sports in the *Circus*, in which an Elephant overcame a Rhinoceros, and a Knight who had been very rich heretofore, fought as a Gladiator. And now old Age joyn'd with his Infirmities, hindring him from speaking in private, with all those who had any Affairs with him, he gave Audience sitting upon a Tribunal in his Palace, after having before consulted with his Friends, and gave Commission to three Consular Men, to treat with the Ambassadors of those Princes and Nations that came to him upon any business of State, allowing them full power to give Answers, except there was any thing in debate, which ought to be communicated to him, or requir'd to be authoriz'd by a Decree of the Senate.

About this time, as *Germanicus* the Son of *Drusus*, who commanded the Army in *Dalmatia*, where the War then was,

was, carried on the Siege of a strong Place, without making any great progress, a *German* Horseman threw a Stone upon the *Parapet* with such a force, that he loosned the whole frame, insomuch that it tumbled down, and made a Soldier Prisoner who was upon it; which put the rest into such a Consternation, that they retir'd immediately into the Citadel, from whence they made their composition, and surrendred themselves. In the mean time *Batton*, who was the Author of the Revolt of the *Dalmatians*, and had done the *Romans*, a great deal of Mischief, desir'd a Conference with *Tiberius*, in order to treat of a Peace. Being met together the next day, *Tiberius* sat upon the Tribunal, and said to him among other things, ' Who perswaded you, said he, ' to take up Arms against us, and to ' make War upon us so long? 'Twas ' for this reason, replied the other, be- ' cause you did not send Shepherds or ' Dogs to guard your Flocks, but Wolves. In a word, *Dalmatia* was then made tributary to the Empire.

But on the other side the *Roman* People suffer'd a great loss in *Germany*, where-
of

of *Quintilius Varus* was Governour. For while the *Germans* were brought by degrees to forget the Customs of their Country, the thing was almost insensible to them, and they supported it well enough. But when *Varus* left his Command in *Syria*, and took this Government upon him, thinking to make them change their Manners all at once, treating them like Slaves, and levying Money upon them, as if they had been Subjects; being no longer able to endure his Conduct, they Revolted, not openly, but under a false shew of Friendship. For as *Varus* was marching against some *Barbarians*, they came to joyn him, pretending to assist him in the War; and when he was got into a disadvantageous Ground, they took their opportunity, and attack'd him when he least expected it, and surrounding him on all sides, pour'd a storm of Darts upon his Men, who not being able to assist one another, or to escape by Flight, perish'd together in this manner one after another: As for *Varus*, he with the most considerable Men of his Army, kill'd themselves.

At

At the news of this Defeat *Augustus* tore his Cloaths, and plung'd himself in Grief, partly in regret for the Troops that had perish'd, and partly out of fear, lest the *Germans* should not only invade *Italy*, but should pierce as far as *Rome*; for there was not a strong place between them to hinder them; besides the Allies from whom he might have expected some Assistance, were themselves reduc'd to great difficulties. Nevertheless he put things into the best order their present condition would admit of. But when he saw that none of those who were at age to bear Arms, would list themselves, he made them all cast Lots, and taking the fifth Man of those who were under five and thirty, and the tenth of those who were above, he confiscated the Estates of the rest, and put a mark of Infamy upon them. And when notwithstanding all this, several refus'd still to go to the War, he was oblig'd to put some of them to Death. After which, having assembled all the *Veterans* and *Freedmen* he could, he dispatch'd them immediately into *Germany*, under the conduct of *Tiberius*. But afterwards hearing that
some

some of the Soldiers had escap'd from the Defeat, and that the Enemies had not dar'd to advance as far as the *Rhine*, he was deliver'd from a very great fear. While things were in this posture, the Fortune-tellers and Men of Prediction, were forbid to speak with relation to the Life of any one, either in private or before Witnesses. Tho' *Augustus* in his own particular made so little account of those things, that he shew'd every body the Constellation under which he was born. Being now old, he by a Memoir recommended *Germanicus* to the Senate, and the Senate to *Tiberias*: Yet he did not read it himself (for his Voice was gone) but *Germanicus*, who was usually charg'd with Commissions of that Nature. Afterwards to express his grief for the loss sustain'd in *Germany*, he desir'd the Senators to come no more to his Palace to pay their Court to him, nor to take it amiss if he did not converse with them as he us'd to do; for they went to compliment him continually, when he was sitting in the *Forum*, or at the Palace, and when he came in or went out of the Senate. Yet more, not only the
 Senators

Senators went to pay their duty to him at his Palace, but also the Knights, and abundance of the *Plebeians*, and he usually receiv'd them sitting, or lying upon a Couch. About this time he renew'd his term of ten years for the Government of the Republick, *L. Munatius*, and *C. Silius* being Consuls. His Infirmities increasing now every day, he demanded twenty Counsellors for a year, having before had but fifteen, and their Commission lasted but six Months. Afterwards observing that the exaction of a twentieth was an extream burthen upon several, the fear he had lest it should occasion some Disorders, made him write to the Senate to find out some other Impost. His design was not to get the Tax of the twentieth remitted, but he had a mind they should be oblig'd to acknowledge that there was no easier way to raise Money, and so they should receive it with less difficulty. And lest if *Germanicus* and *Drusus* gave their opinion, it should be taken for granted, that 'twas by his order, so that the thing should pass *Nemine contra dicente*, without any more debate, he forbid them both to speak

O upon

upon the Subject. Thus several things were propos'd, of which they gave him advice by Letters, and finding by their debates, that they would rather endure any thing, than that kind of Tribute, he laid a Tax upon Country-Houses and Lands, without any specification, neither how much, nor after what manner it should be rais'd. He only sent some Persons to several places, in order to make an enquiry into the Estates of private Men, and likewise of Communities, that the apprehension of a greater Burthen, might dispose the Proprietors to pay freely the first Imposition, which fell out accordingly.

While *Augustus* was taken up with what we have said, it happen'd that at the *Augustalia*, or Games that were celebrated every year upon the day of his Birth; a Fool sitting in the Chair that was Consecrated to *Julius Cæsar*, took off the Crown, and put it upon his Head, which was an ill Omen for *Augustus*, as the sequel verified. For the year following going into *Campania*, after he had celebrated publick Sports at *Naples*, he died at *Nole*, under the Consulship of *Sextus Apuleius*, and *Sextus Pompeius*.

Pompeius. His Death had been presag'd by several very extraordinary Prodigies, and very easie to understand: For there was a great Eclipse of the Sun, part of the Firmament appear'd all on Fire, there fell down flames to the Earth, and there were Comets of the colour of Blood. Yet more, the Senate having order'd publick Prayers for his Health, the Gates of the Palace were found shut; an Owl that was sitting upon it sung, and the Lightning that fell upon his Statue in the *Capitol*, effac'd the first Letter of the Name of *Cæsar*, which made the *Augurs* say, that he would be of the number of the Gods a hundred days after, because the first Letter of that Name marks the number of a hundred among the *Latins*, and the rest signifies God in the *Tuscan* Tongue. In a word, *Augustus* died of a fit of Sickness; not but that some have suspected that *Livia* advanc'd his end, which nevertheless seems to me very improbable. They tell us, that she being apprehensive of his recalling to *Rome*, *Agrippa* Son of *Agrippa*, who was at that time in banishment at some Island, in order to leave him the Empire, poi-

son'd some Figs that were upon a Fig-Tree, where *Augustus* us'd to gather them himself, and while she was eating others, she gave him some of those that were poison'd. But whether 'twas so or not, being faln sick, he immediately summon'd his Friends, and after having told them what was to be done, ' In a word, says he to them, I leave ' you a City of Marble for one of Brick ' that I found; in which he did not mean so much the magnificence of Buildings, as the greatness and extent of the Empire. Then he desir'd them to clap their Hands, as the Audience is wont to do at the end of a Play, by which he seem'd as it were to laugh at Human Life. He died the nineteenth of *August*, upon which day he was chosen Consul the first time, after having liv'd seventy five Years, ten Months, and twenty four Days, (being born the twenty third of *September*) whereof he Reign'd from the time of his Victory at *Actium*, forty four years abating thirteen days.

His Death was not immediately divulg'd, because *Tiberius* being then in *Dalmatia*, *Livia* conceal'd it till he arriv'd

riv'd at *Rome*, for fear of Disorders.
 The principal Men of each Town in
 their turns, carried his Body from *Nole*.
 When he was near *Rome*, the Knights
 went themselves to fetch the Body, and
 brought it by Night into the City.
 The Senate met the next day, the
 Knights were there in their Parade-Ha-
 bits, and the Magistrates in Senator's
 Robes without the purple Trimmings.
Tiberius and *Drusus* his Son wore Robes
 of Cinder-colour, like those the Judges
 have when they give Sentence; both
 presented Incense to the Body, but no
 Trumpet sounded. Every body sat in
 his usual place; that is to say, the Con-
 suls in Chairs below, one in the *Præ-*
tor's Chair, and the other in the Chair
 of the *Tribune* of the People. After-
 wards *Polybius* read his Will, because it
 was not the business of a Senator. *Ti-*
berius was made Heir for two thirds,
 and *Livia* for the rest, as some have
 believ'd; for *Augustus* desiring she should
 share the advantages of his Fortune,
 had got the Senate's leave to make her
 a Gift much more considerable, than
 was allow'd by the Laws. Besides these
 two Heirs nam'd, he left several Coun-

try Houses and Money, as Legacies to many of his Relations, and to People that were in no degree of Consanguinity to him; among whom there were not only Senators and Knights, but even Kings. As to the Soldiers, he left to each of the *Prætorians* six Crowns: To those who were distributed into the several quarters of *Rome* to guard it, half of that Sum; and to all the Populace two Crowns *per Head*. Yet more, he order'd that when the Children of those who had made him their Heir, should be at Age, they should have their Estates again with Restitution of the *Mesne Profits*, which he always practis'd in his Life-time. For whenever he was nam'd Heir by those who left Children, if they were grown to be young Men, he immediately put them into possession of the Estate of their Father, if not, as soon as they came to Age. Yet though he shew'd so much goodness to the Children of others, he would never recal his own Daughter from Exile, though when he died, he left her a Legacy; but he commanded, that she should not be buried in his Tomb. Thus much for his Will.

After

After which four Memoirs were brought, which *Drusus* read. The first contain'd the Order which he desir'd might be observ'd at his Funeral. The second, the most remarkable Actions of his Life, which he order'd to be engrav'd upon Pillars of Brass, and plac'd upon his Tomb. The third was a List of all the Troops, Revenues, Expences, Money, what Fund there was in the Treasury, and other things which concern'd the Maintenance and Support of the Empire; and by the fourth, he gave several Instructions as well to *Tiberius*, as to the whole Republick; among the rest, not to infranchise too many Slaves, lest *Rome* should be fill'd with a mixture of all sorts of People; not to grant without difficulty, the Priviledge of the *Roman* Freedom, that there might be always a great difference between them and their Subjects; to give Employments to none but Men of Experience, and never to trust a single Person with the Government, lest he should have an Ambition to make himself King, or lest if he should not succeed in his Design, his Ruine should draw after it that of the whole Commonwealth. He advis'd them

not to think of enlarging the bounds of the Empire, because it would make them less capable of keeping what they had already, so that instead of growing greater, they would be in danger of losing their ancient Dominions. Which he always practis'd in his Life-time; for though he could easily have possess'd himself of several Countries belonging to the *Barbarians*, yet he declin'd the thing. When all his Instructions were read, they proceeded to the Funeral Ceremonies.

First the Body was laid upon a Bed of Gold and Ivory, trim'd with a purple Lining embroider'd with Gold, but was not to be seen. Before appear'd his Statue in a triumphal Habit, which was brought from the Palace by those who were design'd Magistrates for the following Year. Another all of Gold was carried from the Senate: A third was born in a Triumphal Chariot, and behind all this, follow'd the Statues of his Ancestors and Relations that died before him, except that of *Julius Cæsar*, who had been put in the number of the Gods. Then came the Images of all the ancient *Romans*, who had been of
any

any consideration, from the time of *Romulus* to that of *Pompey*, whose Image appear'd among them. There appear'd likewise other Emblems, that represented all the Provinces he had subdued. They proceeded in this order to the Place of Harangues, where the Body was set down; then after *Drusus* had read some Papers, *Tiberius* by a decree of the Senate, deliver'd the Funeral Oration in the presence of all the People from the Tribune's Seat, call'd *Julia*. After which the same Persons who carried the Corps thither, took it up and carried it thro' the Triumphal Gate, as the Senate had order'd, which was there in a Body, and assisted at the whole Ceremony, as did all the Knights with their Wives. All the Guards, and in short every body that was then in *Rome* attended the Solemnity.

When the Body was put upon the Pile, which was erected in the Field of *Mars*, the Priests first made their Procession round it, after them the Knights, then the Magistrates; and in short all the Soldiers in *Rome* throng'd thither, and threw upon the Pile all the Rewards they had got by signalizing themselves
in

in his service. When this was done, the Centurions set fire to the Pile, which was soon in flames; and at the same time an Eagle was seen to fly out of the Pile, which mounting in the Air made the People believe, that it carried the Soul of *Augustus* to Heaven. When all was over, every body retir'd but *Livia*, who remain'd there five Days with the most considerable of the Knights; after which she gather'd up his Bones and went to inter them. The Men wore black only for some Days, according to the custom of that time, but the Women mourn'd a whole Year by order of the Senate. And tho' for the present, few People truly regretted the loss of *Augustus*, yet after his Death, when they came to be sensible of the change, and of the great misfortunes that succeeded it, they reflected upon his Reign as an Age of Gold.

Augustus was of an obliging nature, very liberal, had a great respect for his Friends, and took a pleasure to see them use a freedom with him. There needs no other Instance of it than this. *Athenodorus* coming into his Apartment in a close Chair, pretending to be a Woman, rush'd out upon him suddenly with a
Dagger

Dagger in his Hand, and said to him :
 ‘ Are you not afraid lest some body at
 ‘ one time or other, should take such an
 ‘ opportunity to come and murder you?
 At which *Augustus* was so far from being
 angry, that on the contrary he thank’d
 him for it. Several things of the like
 nature are reported of him ; among the
 rest, that he never shew’d his anger to
 those who had displeas’d him, and that
 he always kept his word even to those
 who were altogether unworthy of it ;
 For having promis’d ten *Sesterces* to him,
 that should bring to him alive a famous
 Robber, call’d *Coracota*, against whom
 he was very much provok’d, because he
 had plunder’d and destroy’d every thing
 he met in *Spain* ; The other coming in
 Person to deliver himself to him, he not
 only gave him the promis’d Summ, but
 enrich’d him afterwards. This disposi-
 tion in him made the *Romans* regret his
 loss, besides that he had blended Mo-
 narchy and the Popular State together,
 without taking their liberty away, and
 tho’ he had made himself Master, yet
 every body was happy ; inasmuch as be-
 ing equally secure from the Violence of
 the Populace, and the Vexations of a
 Tyrant,

Tyrant, they enjoy'd an easie, quiet Life under a Royalty, which leaving an honest freedom, took not away the form of a Common-wealth, but only banish'd all the Disorders of it. They who remembered the miseries of the Civil Wars, threw the blame upon the times, and the juncture of Affairs, for they could not in reason make any judgment of him, but by what he did after he came to be sole Master of the Sovereign Power.

The duration of his Government was not a little serviceable to his Glory, and the establishment of his Authority; for most of those who had been very Eminent in the time of the Republick being Dead, the rest knew nothing of a Popular State; so that being contented with the condition in which they had been brought up, they were not only not uneasy with the present Government, but they were pleas'd with it. Especially seeing their condition was preferable to that of their Fathers, from whom they had learn'd all the former miseries. And tho' they were not ignorant of these things during the Life of *Augustus*, yet after his Death they knew them much better, inasmuch as by a certain fatality
fix'd

fix'd to humane nature, we are hardly sensible of any Enjoyment, till we come to regret the loss of it. This was seen in a lively manner after the decease of *Augustus*, who was lamented by all Mankind, as soon as they saw the vast difference between his Conduct and that of *Tiberius*. For in short, their manners and method of Government were so very opposite, that it was suspected he was nam'd to succeed *Augustus* only for this reason, that the Vices of *Tiberius*, might give a greater lustre to the Virtues of the other.

The *Roman* People after they had put *Augustus* into the number of the Gods, and declar'd him Immortal, made *Livia* his Priestess, and call'd her *Augusta*. She made a Present of ten *Sesterces* to *Numerius Atticus*, a Senator and *Pretorian* for affirming upon Oath that he saw *Augustus* mount up to Heaven, as *Proculus* formerly did with relation to *Romulus*. A Temple was likewise order'd to be built in *Rome* in Honour of *Augustus*, which was afterwards perform'd by *Livia* and *Tiberius*. Several others were also built in other Places, partly by consent of the People, and partly against their
their

their Wills. Yet more, the House where he died at *Nole* was Consecrated to him, and 'twas ordered that his Statue should not be born at any Funerals, and that the Tribunes upon the account of their being Sacred, should celebrate the *Augustalia*. This is what past in the time of *Augustus*.

T H E

THE
REIGN
OF THE
EMPEROUR
TIBERIUS.

T*IBERIUS*, who was a *Patrician* by Birth, and had been Educated with great Care, was of so singular a temper that he never discover'd his thoughts, and conceal'd all his desires, so that his Sentiments were directly opposite to his Discourse. Thus when he wish'd for any thing, he express'd an aversion to it, and on the other side pretended to desire what he was extreamly afraid of. When his mind was most serene, he was then to outward appearance most angry, and when
he

he was really in choler, he affected to seem most quiet. He severely punish'd those whom he pretended to pity, and us'd indulgence to others whom he had sometimes ill us'd. He caress'd his greatest Enemies, as if they had been his most intimate Friends, and shew'd a frowning countenance to his Favourites. In short his Maxim was, that no body ought to know the bottom of a Prince's thoughts. If he had fix'd there, those who were concern'd with him might have known without much difficulty, by what measures to guide themselves ; for by taking all his words in the contrary sense, they might have known his meaning. But beside what we have said, he was rais'd into such a Passion, when any one discover'd his thoughts, that he put several to Death for this only Crime of finding out his design. Thus none but those, who being acquainted with his intentions seem'd to take no notice of them, escap'd, (which happen'd to very few) for they were neither deceiv'd themselves, nor incurr'd his hatred for pretending to know his thoughts. *Tiberius* being of such a disposition, writ Letters immediately from *Rome*, not only to the
Armies,

Armies, but to all Nations, in which he did not take the Name of Emperor, because he had refus'd that Quality, as well as all others which the Senate had offer'd him, accepting the Inheritance of *Augustus* without taking his Sirname. Afterwards tho' he had Guards to attend him, he desir'd the Senate's Protection against his Enemies ; which some body turning into ridicule, said, ' 'Twas his opinion, since he had no Guards, that he should have some assign'd him : To which *Tiberius* who conceiv'd the rail-lery answer'd, that the Soldiers belong'd to the Republick, not to him. He manag'd all Affairs, and Acted absolutely in every thing, pretending at the same time that he would resign the Government ; first by reason of his Age, for he was already in his six and fiftieth Year : And in the second place, because he was very short-sighted, seeing much better by Night than by Day. Afterwards he desir'd some Collegues, not to govern jointly with him, as 'tis practis'd in Republicks that are rul'd by a small number, but in order to divide the whole Empire into three parts, whereof himself would have one, and his Collegues

P

should

should have the other two. *Rome* with *Italy* was to be one part, the Armies the second, and all the rest the third. And as he was importunate with the Senate to grant him his request, and they on the contrary pretended they would not consent to it in any manner, *Asinius Gallus*, using a certain liberty of speech that was natural to him, tho' it put him in great danger, 'Choose, said he 'to him, which part you would have. 'To which *Tiberius* replied, It is not necessary that he who makes the parts 'should choose. Thereupon *Gallus* perceiving the danger his discourse had thrown him in, did all he could to compose him, and said to him among other things, that what he had said, 'Was not 'to oblige him to take one of the three 'parts, but to let him know that the 'Empire could not be divided. Yet he could not appease him, and he was at last put to Death after having been very ill-us'd for a long time.

Tiberius hated him before for marrying his Wife, whom he had put away, and for being Father in Law to his Son *Drusus*. In the mean time the Troops of *Germany* taking notice, that *Germanicus* was

was of the Blood of *Cæsar*, and much more worthy of the Empire than *Tiberius*, began to speak of *Tiberius* with contempt, and Proclaim'd *Germanicus* Emperor. Upon which he endeavour'd immediately to bring them back to their Duty, but when he saw 'twas in vain, he drew his Sword as if he design'd to run himself through. Whereupon one of his Soldiers had the Insolence to offer him his own, saying, 'Take this, it has a better point. In a word, he had all the difficulty imaginable to appease that Sedition. After which his Son *Caius Caligula* (who was so nam'd, because having been always bred among the Soldiers, he wore the military Robe which was so call'd) remain'd with them. Thus *Germanicus*, when he might have possess'd himself of the Empire, considering how he was belov'd not only by the *Romans*, but by all the other Nations, would not accept of it : Which made *Tiberius* praise him and his Wife *Agrippina* highly ; yet he did not cease to mistrust them both, besides that he knew *Agrippina* was a Woman of a daring Spirit. This was it that oblig'd him to govern himself with more moderation,

as long as *Germanicus* liv'd, insomuch that he hardly did any thing by his own Authority, but imparted every thing to the Senate, with whom he consulted upon the least occasion, and besides made use of Counsellors after the Example of *Augustus*. Nay, after he had spoke his opinion, he did not take it ill when others were of a different mind; yet more, he did not shew any uneasiness when the opinion of those who were against him prevail'd. He often spoke his thoughts out after this manner, (that every one might freely deliver his sentiments) ' If I was to direct ' in such a business, says he, I would order this or that. Yet further, he sat in the Courts of Justice himself to hear Causes, and came before the Magistrates when he was summon'd, and sometimes without. He made the Judges keep their Seats, and plac'd himself over against them, from whence he gave his opinion. He would not suffer any body that was Free to call him my Lord, nor any but the Soldiers to give him the Title of Emperor. He refus'd downright the Stile of *Pater Patriæ*, to receive that of Prince of the Senate, according to the

the ancient Custom. He would often say, that he was Lord of the Slaves, Emperor of the Soldiers, and Prince of the rest. He likewise us'd to wish that he might Live and Reign no longer than he could be serviceable to the Republick. In a word, he affected so much to appear popular upon all occasions, that he would never suffer any rejoycings upon his Birth-Day, but what was observ'd before he came to the Empire. It was not allow'd to swear by his Fortune, and he took no revenge upon those who broke the oath when they had sworn it. Nor was it in this alone, that he conform'd himself to the rest of the People, but also in not suffering any Temple to be built in his Honour, or his Statues to be erected. For he prohibited by an Edict, that any City or private Person should undertake to do it without his permission, adding immediately after, that he would never suffer it. When any one had spoken ill of him, or committed any impiety against him, according to the new Language that had been introduc'd, he never express'd any uneasiness at it, nor suffer'd any one to be troubled upon that ac-

count; though he shew'd himself very zealous for the memory of *Augustus*, when any body fell into that crime with relation to him. For though at present he did not punish them, yet in the sequel he condemn'd several for it, in which he shew'd the respect he bore to him, as also in finishing those Buildings which he had left imperfect, and ordering his Name to be inscrib'd upon them. Sometimes too he consecrated Statues and publick Works to him, and sometimes he charg'd the Priests with the Commission. He likewise repair'd all the Ancient Edifices that were fall'n to Ruine (for he built nothing new but the *Augustal*) and yet gave himself none of the Honour, but set the Names of their first Founders upon them. Though he was very sparing in what related to his private Expences, he employ'd a great deal of Money for the benefit of the Publick; for he not only made a World of Repairs, but he was likewise very liberal, as well towards Communities as particular Persons.

When

When he made a Present of Money or any thing else, he saw it counted before him, or had it brought upon the Spot, remembring that in the time of *Augustus*, they, thro' whose Hands such Gratuities pass'd, committed great Abuses. Thus he endeavour'd to prevent the like in his time. He made all these Presents with the ordinary Revenues of the Empire, for he condemned no body to Death for his Estate, nor confiscated any Mans Goods, nor exacted Money by force. Nay, *Emilius Rectus*, Governor of *Egypt*, having once sent him a greater Sum than us'd to be impos'd upon the Country, he wrote back to him, that he would have his Sheep shorn, but not fleec'd. He was extreamly Affable, Courteous, and Humane, insomuch that he order'd the Senators to attend him in a Body, lest in coming separately, the ambition of getting before one another, should make them fall foul upon each other. He affected to shew a great sweetness in all his Actions, insomuch that the Magistrates of *Rhodes* having once forgot to put at the bottom of a Letter which they wrote to him, the ordinary Wish-

es, after having summon'd them to appear before him, as if he intended to punish them, he sent them back without imposing any thing else upon them, but to put in what was wanting. He had as much respect for the Magistrates, as if the Republick had been still on foot ; for he rose whenever he saw the Consuls coming, going to meet them as far as the Door, when he invited them to Supper, and conducted them back again in the same manner. Yet further, he would not suffer any Senator or Knight to follow him, when he went in a Chair. He was very often at the Publick Shews, as well to honour those who gave them, as to please the People by appearing at the Festival. For it was never observ'd, that he took a pleasure in any of these things ; nay, the People expressing once a great desire to infranchise a Dancer that was a Slave, he would not suffer it till the Patron consented, and had receiv'd his Price. He convers'd with his Friends as familiarly, as if he had been a private Man, pleaded for them in Court, was present at their Sacrifices, and visited them when they were Sick, without

out Guards or Attendance. Yet more, one of his Friends being dead, whom he lov'd extreamly, he made his Funeral Oration in publick; whenever there was any Meeting, or any Sports celebrated, he saw the Solemnity from the House of one of his Officers, or Freedmen, where every body had easie access to him.

He took down the Pride and Arrogance of his Mother *Livia*, who was the most imperious Woman that ever was; for she receiv'd in her Apartment the Senate and *Plæbeians*, whenever they came to pay their respects to her, ordering the thing to be inserted in the publick Registers. Yet more, her Name was for some time put joyntly with that of *Tiberius*, at the Head of all Dispatches. In short, she tyranniz'd as Empress in every thing; for as her Authority had been very great in the Reign of *Augustus*, and besides, pretending that *Tiberius* was oblig'd to her for the Empire, she not only took upon her to share the power with him, but to be Mistress: Insomuch, that her Flatterers advis'd her to call *Tiberius* by her own Name, that as the *Greeks* took their
Names

Names from their Father, he might derive his from his Mother. But *Tiberius* being extreamly provok'd at it, was hardly perswaded to ratifie any of those things that she was concern'd in, and at length remov'd her entirely from the management of Affairs, without leaving her any power, but over her Family; where as she continued to plague him, he left her absolutely at last, and went into the Island of *Caprea*, to be at the greater distance from her. He was very severe to his Son *Drusus*, who was so cruel and violent in his Nature, that a sort of Swords whose edges are extreamly sharp, has been since call'd by his Name. He often reprov'd him, as well in publick as private. Once among other times, he said to him before a great many People, 'Take notice, says he, that I will not suffer you 'to do the least wrong to any body, 'as long as I live, and if you dare 'attempt it, I shall take effectual care 'to put it out of your power, to do it 'ev'n after my Death. Indeed *Tiberius* was very moderate for some time, not suffering the least extravagance in Manners, insomuch that he punish'd several

veral for offending in this kind. Tho' many People wore purple Robes, after they were forbid, he reprimanded nobody for it ; but one day when it rain'd, having put on a Robe drawing upon black, they durst not wear any other for the future.

After this manner did he behave himself, as long as *Germanicus* liv'd, but after his Death, as if he had been deliver'd from an Enemy of the Empire, he chang'd his conduct entirely. Tho' he did not immediately pay the Legacies which *Augustus* had left to the People by his Will, yet in the Sequel he discharg'd this Debt upon the following occasion. One day as a dead Body was carrying thro' the Market-place, some body went close to the Body, and pretended to whisper to it ; being ask'd what he had said, ' He replied, that he had ' charg'd him to let *Augustus* know, that ' the People had not yet seen a penny ' of what he left them. *Tiberius* order'd him to be put to death upon the ' place, saying by way of Raillery, that ' he might carry his Message himself ; and yet a little after he pay'd the Legacies, giving them two Crowns *per Head*.
He

He would not be present at a single Combat of two Knights, in which one being kill'd, he forbid the other ever to fight in the same manner. The Son of *Drusus* dying about this time, it did not interrupt any of his ordinary Actions. He said, that the Republick ought not to share any of the Misfortunes that befell the Prince. *Drusus* himself being made Consul, he perform'd all the functions of the Office joyntly with his Collegue, just as if he had been a private Man ; nay, he carried it so far, that when he was nam'd some bodies Heir, he help'd to carry his Body. At the same time he was so very subject to Anger, that once he struck a Knight, for which he was call'd *Castor*. He would likewise drink to Excess, and when the Wine had got the Mastery over him, he would do very extravagant things ; among others, one Night being summon'd with the Soldiers of the Guard, to assist some People who were surpriz'd by Fire, when they ask'd for Water, he order'd some to be given them that was boiling hot. Under the Consulship of *Taurus Statilius*, and *L. Libo*, *Tiberius* prohibited the use of wrought

wrought Silks, and Gold-Plate, except at Sacrifices; which making some People doubt, whether that upon which any Emblems were engrav'd, was compriz'd, he specified the thing by a second Edict, and the word Emblem not being easily express'd in *Latin*, he order'd the *Greek* word to be put in. Neither would he receive the testimony of a *Centurion* in *Greek*, tho' before he had heard several Causes in this Language. But at this time he did not think it proper to be done. He never did any hurt to *Vibius*, who affected to sit in the Chair in which *Julius Cæsar* was kill'd: This *Vibius* had also Married *Cicero's* Widow, upon which two things he valued himself as much, as if the Chair had transform'd him into *Cæsar*, and his Wife into an excellent Orator. And these things were so far from putting him into any danger, that he was afterwards made Consul.

Tiberius put to Death all the foreign Astrologers and Magicians, and banish'd those who were born at *Rome*, tho' he was himself perpetually with *Thrasylus*, whom he consulted every day about Futurity,

Futurity, being himself very skilful in that Science. Insomuch, that being order'd in his Sleep to give Money to some body, he knew by the Rules of his Art, that 'twas a *Demon* appear'd to him, so that he put the Man to Death. About this time one *Clement Agrippa's* Slave, who resembled him in some measure, affirming, that he was *Agrippa* himself, drew a great many credulous People to his Party: But being at length apprehended by *Tiberius*, and ask'd by him, how he came to be *Agrippa*, 'He
 ' replied, just as you came to be *Cæsar*. Having made use of a word that was hardly *Latin*, in a certain Edict which he had publish'd, and reflecting upon it one Night, he immediately sent for all those who were expert in the Language, (for he affected to speak well) and *Ateius Capito* having said to him out of a Compliment, ' Though the
 ' Word has not hitherto been us'd, yet
 ' in respect to you we will receive it,
 ' and put it in the number of the ancients; to which *Marcellus* added, My
 ' Lord, you have a Power to infranchise Men, but not Words. This liberty of Speech was not at all resented
 by

by *Tiberius*. Having also sent for *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, against whom he was incens'd, he put him into the hands of the Senate, accusing him of exciting the Country to Revolt, ordering them to make out his Process, tho' he was then not only broken with Age, but miserably afflicted with the Gout; and there is no reason to doubt, but he would have been punish'd with Death, had not a Witness, who was produc'd against him, depos'd, that he had said, he would shew *Tiberius* what Nerves he had, when he return'd into his Kingdom. For this discourse rais'd such a Laughter, because he could neither stand nor sit, that *Tiberius* had no longer any desire to put him to Death; so he escap'd, but died soon after. Upon whose Death *Cappadocia* was subjected to the *Roman* People, and a Knight was sent to command there.

As long as *Tiberius* contain'd himself in the bounds of Moderation, he did not touch any Mans Estate, not so much as accepting what was left him by Relations. On the contrary, he gave away his own to Communities and private Men, without suffering them to
return

return him any marks of Honour, or to give him publick Thanks. He never gave Audience to the Deputies of Provinces alone, but would be always assisted, and particularly by those who had formerly been Governors of the places in question. And now *Germanicus* who commanded the Army in *Germany*, after he had made a vast progress in those parts, push'd his Conquests as far as the Ocean, where having again routed the *Barbarians*, he gather'd up the Bones of those who perish'd with *Varus*, gave them the honours of Burial, and recover'd the Standards that were lost. The Senators being importunate with *Tiberius*, to suffer the Month of *November* to be call'd by his Name; because he was born in that Month, he said to them, what would you do, Gentlemen, if you should happen to have thirteen *Cæsars*? Afterwards *Marcus Junius*, and *Lucius Norbanus* being Consuls, there happen'd a Prodigy upon the very day of the Calends of *January*, which seem'd to preface the death of *Germanicus*; for the Consul *Norbanus*, who was a great lover of the Trumpet, and often sounded himself,

himself, began to sound at break of day, in the presence of abundance of People, which put them into a very great fright, every body taking it for a Signal of War. And to increase their fears, the Statue of *Janus* fell down, and there was a rumour of an Oracle of one of the *Sibyls*, which tho' it related rather to our Times, did not fail to put them into the last Consternation, which was thus,

*Ere twice five Hundred years shall come,
Farewel the Pride and Power of Rome.*

Tiberius spoke disadvantageously of these Predictions, and made a search after all the Books of Prophecies, rejecting those which appear'd useles, and keeping the rest. The Death of *Germanicus*, which fell out at this time, transported *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and on the other side afflicted the whole *Roman* People. He was very well made in his Person, endow'd with excellent Parts, vers'd in all kinds of Learning, of a Constitution strong and hardy, and above all, extremely Courteous and Obliging. He

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was never prompted by envy, to do any thing against *Drusus*, nor is there any thing to blame him for in all his Conduct, with regard to *Tiberius*, refusing the very Empire when 'twas offer'd him, tho' it had been very easie for him to have possess'd himself of it. He died at *Antioch*, by the treachery of *Piso* and *Plancina*; for they had buried in the House where he lodg'd some dead Bodies in sheets of Lead, upon which there were characters of Witchcraft with horrible Imprecations. *Piso* being accus'd of his Death by *Tiberius*, before the Senate, he desir'd some time to make his Defence, in which he prevented his Punishment, by making himself away. As soon as *Tiberius* saw himself without an Enemy, there being no body else left by whom he fear'd to be supplanted, he began to fall into Irregularities, and to change his Conduct entirely. A Man was guilty of Treason, not only for having fail'd towards the memory of *Augustus*; but likewise for having been wanting in the least respect, or for having said the least word against him or his Mother, there being no quarter for such faults, and as well Slaves were put to the Rack,

to make them depose against their Masters, as Citizens and Men that were free. The Accusers or Witnesses had the Confiscations of those who were condemn'd, and were preferr'd to their Employments and Dignities. He put a great many to Death, only because upon examining the Day and Hour of their Birth, he had found out by that means, what their Conduct and Fortune was to be. For as soon as he saw that any one began to raise himself, and might entertain hopes of the Empire, he sent him immediately out of the World; having in this manner taken the Horoscope of every body that was of any Consideration. Thus going to see *Galba* upon his Wedding-day: 'You,' says he, shall one day taste of Empire; having spar'd him, in my opinion, only because 'twas his Destiny, and that it must happen of necessity, tho' the reason he alledg'd was, because he was not to reign till he was old, and a long time after his own Death.

The Son of *Strabo*, *L. Ælius Sejanus*, who had formerly prostituted his youth to *M. Sabinus Apicius*, was the most in credit with him, and dispatch'd almost all his Affairs. This *Sabinus Apicius* had liv'd in

more Pomp and Luxury, than any Mari in his time : Infomuch, that being once desirous to know what he had left, after all the expences he had made, and finding that the remainder of his Estate amounted but to a Million of Crowns in value, he plung'd himself in Grief, and the fear he had of coming to Poverty, oblig'd him to kill himself. *Sejanus* after having been for some time Colonel of the Guards, joyntly with his Father, the Government of *Egypt* being given to the last, came to have the sole Command. Among other Regulations which he made, he order'd that the Companies of Guards, which before quarter'd separately in divers places, should for the future all lodge within the same Precinct, that they might be the readier to execute all sorts of Commands, and be rendred the more formidable by this Union. *Tiberius* having made him the Companion of all his Disorders, granted him the *Prætorian* Honours, (which had never yet been done to any of his equals) made him his chief Minister, and dispatch'd no Affair, without his participation. *Tiberius* after that being made Consul with

with *Drusus*, it was immediately concluded, that the last would die very soon, because of all those who had been Consuls with him, there was not one but came to a very miserable End. For *Quintilius Varus*, *Cneius Piso*, and in the last place *Germanicus* having perish'd in this manner, *Drusus* did likewise at this time, and not long after *Sejanus*, who had also been his Collegue. Once when *Tiberius* was out of *Rome*, *C. Lutorius Priscus* a Roman Knight, and very famous Poet, after he had made the Epitaph of *Germanicus*, for which he had been amply rewarded with a great sum of Money, was accus'd of having made a Poem against *Drusus*, who was then Sick: So that the thing being brought before the Senate, *Priscus* was condemn'd to die. *Tiberius* took it very ill, not that he pitied the Man, but because he would not have it in the power of the Senate, to put any one to Death without first knowing his Pleasure. Thus after having reprimanded the Senators, he oblig'd them to make an Order, that no Sentence pronounc'd by their Authority, should be executed till ten days after, and that the publicati-

on of their Decrees for Death, should be likewise delay'd as long, that he might have intelligence of them where-soever he was. Afterwards upon the expiration of the year of his Consulship he return'd to *Rome*, where he forbid the Consuls to speak in favour of those who were accus'd for the time to come; for, said he, if I was Consul, I would not do it. And now one of the *Prætors* being accus'd of failing in his respects towards *Tiberius*, either in his Words or Actions, went out of the Palace, and having quitted his Magistrates Robe, return'd immediately, and demanded his Trial as a private Man; which made such an impression upon *Tiberius*, that he discharg'd him without any penalty. He banish'd all the Dancers from *Rome*, and prohibited the Profanation throughout the Empire, because they often affronted Women, and made Tumults. He honour'd several Persons that were dead with Statues, and publick Monuments, and erected one of Brass to *Sejanus* in his Lifetime: In which he was imitated by several others, the thing being publicly commended as well before the People, as in full Senate.

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Not only the most considerable Persons in *Rome*, but even the Consuls were at his *Levee* every Morning to communicate to him the Petitions they were going to present to *Tiberius*, as well with relation to their own private Affairs, as to the Government, upon which they were to know the Emperors pleasure. For nothing was done without *Sejanus*. About this time an arch'd Work in *Rome* leaning extreamly on one side, an Architect whose name is lost, because *Tiberius* out of Envy, would not have the thing inserted in the publick Registers, set it right contrary to every bodies expectation; for howsoever it was, after he had supported it very well on the outside, he laid all round the top of it coverings of Sheep-skins, and other soft Materials, then binding it with Cords, he employ'd so many Men, and us'd so many Machines, that he perfectly restor'd the Arch to its first condition. Though *Tiberius* admir'd so surprizing a stroke, and even rewarded the Author with a great Sum of Money, yet the envy he conceiv'd against him for it, made him banish him from *Rome*. Some time af-

ter the same Person coming to him again, and being importunate with him to recall him, let a Glass which he had in his Hand fall on purpose, and immediately after shew'd it to him whole, tho' it had been broke in pieces; but he was so far from being encourag'd by this Artifice to pardon him, as he expected, that he put him to Death. *Drusus* his Son was poison'd; for the great credit of *Sejanus* had made him so insolent, that having once a broil with *Drusus*, he forgot himself to that degree, that he came to blows with him, which made him fear his Resentment so much, as well as that of *Tiberius*; besides that he hoped to manage the old Man after he had once got rid of the young one, that he resolv'd to poison him, which he effected by the means of some of his Domesticks, and his own Wife, as some report, call'd *Livilla*, with whom he had before committed Adultery. Others accuse *Tiberius* of being concern'd in this Action, as well because during the Sicknes of *Drusus*, as at his Death, he did not so much as interrupt the course of his ordinary Affairs, and signified his pleasure, that others should take

take as little notice of it as himself. But I can by no means relish this opinion, because *Tiberius* did the same thing with relation to every body, and was besides extreamly fond of *Drusus*, who was his only Son, and whom he firmly believ'd to be his own. Yet more, he punish'd all the Authors of his Death, some upon the spot, the rest in the sequel, and came to the Senate to make his Funeral Oration; which task he perform'd with general Applause, and then return'd to his Palace.

He declar'd those incapable of making a Will, who were interdicted Fire and Water, which is observ'd to this day. *Ælius Saturninus*, having compos'd some Satyrical Verses upon him, he was condemn'd by the Senate, and thrown headlong from the Capitol. I could add many other things of the like nature, if I had a mind to make a detail of his Life; but to say all in a word, he put several to Death for the like Crimes. Nevertheless it must not be forgot, that he inform'd himself with great exactness of every thing that he was blam'd for, then he declar'd it before all the World; so that he made the publick acquainted with every thing
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that had been said in private, that it might be inserted in the Registers. Yet further, to give a specious pretext for all his Cruelties, he often pretended that things had been said of him, which nobody ever dreamt of, but of which he knew himself guilty ; so that he committed against himself the same Crimes for which he punish'd others, which rendered him very ridiculous : For upon the Negative of the Persons accus'd, he maintain'd the thing to be true, and ev'n confirm'd it by Oath, by which means he did himself a greater injury. This Conduct made several believe, that his Brains were disorder'd, tho' not in every thing ; since he shew'd more discretion upon some occasions. For observing that a Senator lavish'd away his Estate in Debauchery, he nam'd him a Guardian, as if he had been a *Minor*.

Again, after having summon'd before the Senate *Capito Procurator* of *Asia*, accusing him among other Crimes of being attended with Guards, as if he had been Governor of the Country, he condemn'd him to Banishment, because at that time they who were sent
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to gather the Revenues of the Empire, were only concern'd in making their Collections, all their Proceſſes becoming void before the ordinary Judges in conformity to the Laws, without any difference between them and other Men. Thus you may ſee the variety and inſtancy, that appear'd in all the Actions of *Tiberius*. The ten firſt years of his Reign being expir'd, tho' he did not demand of the Senate the continuation of it, (there being no neceſſity for it, becauſe he did not reſuſe the Empire, as *Augustus* had done) yet he did not fail to celebrate the Sports, which are cuſtomary every ten years. *Cremutius Cordus* having offended *Sejanus*, he was oblig'd to kill himſelf; for *Tiberius* not being able to convict him of any Crime, (becauſe being now grown old, he had beſides always led a Life without reproach) he condemn'd him at laſt for having in a Hiſtory that he had made of the Life of *Augustus*, which *Augustus* had himſelf read, commended *Caffius* and *Brutus*, and blam'd the conduct of the Senate and People, and had beſides writ nothing in praiſe of *Cæſar* and *Augustus*, tho' on the other ſide he had ſaid

said nothing against them. In short, without any other Article he was condemn'd, and his Book burnt in *Rome* by the *Ediles*, and in the Provinces by the Governours: Tho' it did not fail notwithstanding to see the light again a second time; several Persons, and among the rest his Daughter *Marcia*, having hid several Copies of it, the Death of the Author making it enquir'd after with more curiosity than before.

About the same time, *Tiberius* to make the Senators fear him the more, by letting them know the number and force of his Guards, made them exercise in their Presence. Among the events of that time, this is all that deserves to be reported in History, if we add to what we have said, that the *Cyziceni*ans were a second time reduc'd to Slavery, for having made some *Roman* Citizens Prisoners, and for not finishing the Temple they had begun to build in honour of *Augustus*. Some body that had sold the Statue of *Tiberius* with his House, had infallibly suffer'd for it, if the Consul had not first ask'd him his Advice about it, upon which the fear he was in of appearing too
cruel

cruel in his own Affair, made him consent to his Discharge. Afterwards *Lentulus* the Senator, who was of a quiet Disposition, very regular in his Conduct, and already advanc'd in Age, being accus'd of having conspir'd against the Emperor, despis'd his Accusers, (for the thing was done in his presence, and the Senate seeming to be surpriz'd, 'that
'an Accusation of that nature should
'be brought before them without ground,
'*Tiberius* said to them, nay, Gentle-
'men, if *Lentulus* be my Enemy, I
'am indeed unworthy to live longer.

About this time *Tiberius* went out of *Rome*, and never return'd thither, tho' he had often promis'd it. One *Ratarius*, an intimate friend of *Sabinus*, who was in great consideration among the *Romans*, to make his Court to *Sejanus*, after he had hid some Senators in his House, brought this *Sabinus* thither, then after the usual preambles, made him discover his real Sentiments; for 'tis the custom of such Villains to speak ill of a Man first in order to encourage those who are with them to do the same, and so to make them guilty: For as to themselves, they are allow'd to use what liberty they will, without incurring any
danger,

danger, because 'tis a thing done with design, and to discover by that means the secrets of another Mans Soul, whereas the first are immediately punish'd for the least word spoken a little too freely, as it happen'd in this case: For *Sabinus* being drag'd to prison the same day, was executed without form of Process, and his Body expos'd upon the steps of the *Capitol*, and afterwards thrown into the *Tiber*. His Dog made his death very remarkable, for having follow'd him to Prison, he never forsook him, and jump'd into the River after the Body.

About the same time *Livia* died, in the 87th year of his Age. *Tiberius* made her no visit during the whole course of her Sickness, nor assisted at her Funeral; he did not so much as decree her any other Honour, than that of a publick Funeral, Statues, and things of the like nature, which appear'd of no Consequence, giving express command, that she should not be declar'd Immortal. The Senate not only agreed to what *Tiberius* propos'd upon this occasion, but likewise order'd, that the Women should mourn for her a whole year

year, at the same time commending the Conduct of *Tiberius*, for not neglecting the Government of the Republick. Yet more they order'd, that an Arch should be rais'd to her Memory, which had never been practis'd with regard to any other Woman, under this pretence, that she had sav'd the Lives of several of their Body, had brought up their Children, and contributed to the Marriage of many of their Daughters; which made some of them move, that she might be call'd Mother of her Country. She was buried in the Tomb of *Augustus*. She is reported to be the Author of several very remarkable Sayings, which at this day pass for Sentences: Among others, when some Persons were to have been put to Death for appearing naked before her, she sav'd their Lives, 'saying, That they were but Statues in the Eyes of Vertuous Women. Some body having ask'd her by what means she had acquir'd so absolute a power over *Augustus*, she replied very wisely, 'By paying a blind obedience 'to his Commands, not searching too 'deep into his Designs, and pretending 'to be ignorant of his Amours. This is part of the Character of *Livia*.

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The Arch was not erected: For *Tiberius* not daring to break this Decree openly, stop'd the execution of it, under a pretence of sparing the charges of the Publick, and promising to undertake it at his own Expence, which nevertheless he did not perform.

The Insolence of *Sejanus* being by this time grown to a boundless height, the Senate order'd his Birth-day to be celebrated every year: And the Members of this Assembly, as well as the Knights, Tribunes, and all the principal People, set up his Statues every where. In a word, the Senate deputed to *Tiberius*, and to him separately, as did also the Knights, and the People who sent their *Ediles* to them. They made Vows, they Sacrific'd, and took an Oath in the Names of both. In the mean time *Tiberius* having found a favourable occasion, reveng'd himself upon *Gallus*, who had Married his Wife, and would talk freely of the present Government: For the Senate having sent him as one of their Deputies to the Emperor, he regal'd him at a Feast, shew'd him a chearful Countenance, and sent him back to the Senate with Letters;

ters of Thanks, in which he accus'd him. So that *Gallus* experienc'd two things very opposite, neither of which he expected; having been seen to eat and drink familiarly at Table with *Tiberius*, and condemn'd by the Senate the very same day, and sent to Prison bound Hand and Foot. But when *Tiberius* knew he was Condemn'd, he would not have him executed, tho' the other desir'd it extreamly. On the other side to make him suffer the more, he gave him encouragement to hope for his Pardon, commanding the Officers to let him be as easie in prison as possible, till he return'd to *Rome*. All this was done with a design, as I have said, to keep him longer in suspense and ignominy, as it fell out. For sometimes he was guarded by the Consuls, *Tiberius* not being one of them at that time, and sometimes by the Pretors, not from any fear of his escape, but to deprive him of all means of making himself away. None of his Friends or Domesticks were suffer'd to come near him, he could not so much as see or speak to any one, except when he was serv'd with Food, which he was constrain'd to

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eat :

eat: Besides, his Food was prepar'd so disagreeable to the taste, that it could not well sustain him, and yet was sufficient to keep him from starving, which was the greatest cruelty of all. *Tiberius* us'd the same method with regard to several others, and carried it so far, that when some of his Officers advis'd him to put one of his Friends to Death who was in disgrace and in Prison, he said, 'That he 'was not yet restor'd to his favour. Another time after he had order'd a Man to be cruelly tortur'd, understanding at length that he was perfectly innocent of the fact laid to his charge, he put him to Death, saying, that he had receiv'd too great an Injury ever to live Happy. *Siriacus*, a Man of great Parts and Learning, was also put to Death by his order, tho' he never gave him any cause of complaint, only for professing himself a Friend to *Gallus*.

And now *Sejanus* grew more powerful every Day, and at the same time more formidable; insomuch that the Senators beginning to withdraw their Eyes from *Tiberius* to fix them upon *Sejanus*, to whom they made their Court as to the Prince, made *Tiberius* grow apprehen-

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five of their intentions, lest they should effectually raise him to the Empire. At the same time tho' he knew very well that there was no sleeping upon this affair, yet he judg'd it convenient to do nothing of a sudden nor openly, knowing that *Sejanus* had the Guards entirely at his command, and had besides got the Senators to his Party, some by Gifts, and Promises, others by Menaces. Yet further, all the Servants of *Tiberius* were so devoted to *Sejanus*, that he could not say or do the least thing that was not immediately carried to him, without being able on his side to know any thing that pass'd with *Sejanus*. Thus resolving to take another method, he declar'd him Consul, and the Companion of his Cares, calling him *His Sejanus* upon all occasions, and using the same terms in the Letters which he wrote to the Senate. The *Romans* being deceiv'd by all these appearances, erected Statues of Brass to them both in several Places, set both their Names at the Head of all Contracts, and plac'd for each of them in the Theatre a Chair of Gold. In a word the Senate order'd that they should be Consuls for five Years, besides

which they Sacrific'd to the Statues of *Sejanus*, as well as to those of *Tiberius*. But while the fortune of *Sejanus* was so flourishing, several of the most Eminent Men in *Rome* were put to Death. *C. Geminus Rufus*, was of the Number. Being accus'd of impiety towards *Tiberius*, he brought his Will to the Senate, by which it appear'd he had made him Co-heir with his Children: But it having been objected to him that he was effeminate in his nature, he return'd home before the debates arose, where, when he understood that a *Questor* was come to pronounce his Condemnation, he stab'd himself mortally, then shewing his Wound to the *Questor*; 'Tell the Senate, says he to him, that 'tis thus a Man of Spirit ought to dye. *Publia Prisca*, his Wife being also accus'd of some Crime, came to the Senate with a Dagger conceal'd under her Gown, which she plung'd into her Breast before them all.

To return to *Sejanus*, his great Power had made him so arrogant, that to express the thing in a few words, one would have said that he was Emperor, and that *Tiberius* was but the Lord of an
Island,

Island, because he liv'd altogether at *Caprea*. There was always at his Door a multitude of People, who press'd upon one another to get in first, every one being afraid lest he should not be seen by him, or lest he should be observ'd among the hindmost; for he took particular notice of every thing, especially the words and gestures of the Men of Quality; for as those who possess Employments by Vertue of their Birth and Condition, are very little concern'd about these exterior marks of Honour, no more than at the omission or neglect of those who make their Court to them, well knowing that 'tis not out of contempt; So they who stand in need of help to make themselves Great, stop with caution at every thing that may contribute to render them more considerable, and feel the last *Chagrin* when they can't obtain their desires, imagining they are slighted, insomuch that they resent the disappointment as highly as if they had receiv'd the most signal Affront. For which reason they are courted with more diligence and assiduity than the Emperors themselves, because the last being convinc'd that such

omissions bring no diminution to their Power, take a Pride in excusing them : Whereas the others being perswaded, that they can't pass them by without giving a mistrust, that 'tis an effect of their want of Power, think that by punishing them severely, they strengthen their own Authority.

Upon the first Day of a Month, a multitude of People coming to *Sejanus's* House, so many People press'd upon the Bed in order to be seen by him, that it broke, and a Cat pass'd thro' the midst of the Company. Then as he went down to the Palace after he had Sacrific'd in the *Capitol*, his Guards not being able to follow him by reason of the throng that was about him, having cut thro' the Street that leads to the Prison fell directly upon the Stairs, where they throw those who are condemn'd to Dye. On which occasion *Sejanus* consulted the *Augurs*, but the Birds presag'd no good to him ; on the other side several Crows were seen to fly and croak about him, then made directly to his House and sit upon it. Nevertheless, neither he nor any other, made any account of these Presages ; for to judge of things as they

they appear'd at that time, if a God had descended to foretel the sudden Revolution that happen'd afterwards, it would scarce have obtain'd belief. Every one swore by the fortune of *Sejanus*, and he was commonly call'd the Colleague of *Tiberius*, not only in the Consulship, but likewise in the Empire. *Tiberius*, who was not ignorant of these things, contriving in his mind how to get rid of him with so much the more earnestness, as he saw it was not safe to undertake it openly, found out an admirable Invention to discover his designs, as well as those of all the rest. He began to write often as well to the Senate, as to *Sejanus*; sometimes sending word that he was very ill and in great danger, sometimes that he was in good Health, and that he would be at *Rome* the next Day. Now he gave *Sejanus* mighty Encomiums, and now he spoke of him with contempt. To Day he preferr'd some of his Friends upon his account, and to morrow treated others ill upon the same. By this means *Sejanus*, sometimes well with him, and sometimes ill, remain'd in suspense, and as it were floating between both fortunes. To give himself up to

his fears altogether, and to make some commotion, did not suit with the flourishing State he was in : On the other side he could not be secure of his fortune, because his Authority was intrench'd upon every Day. As for the rest, receiving almost at the same time such opposite accounts, they had neither the same respect for *Sejanus*, nor an absolute contempt for him, and not being certain whether *Tiberius* was near his Grave, or upon returning to *Rome*, they were in continual doubts, not knowing what to believe.

In the mean time all these things gave *Sejanus* a great deal of thinking work. Besides one of his Statues venting smoke, the Head was taken off to see from whence it might proceed, and there came out a great Serpent : Afterwards another Head being put on, and *Sejanus* going to Sacrifice to it upon this occasion, (for he offer'd Sacrifices to himself) they found a little Cord about the Neck. His credit began then to lessen extreamly, every one forsaking and despising him openly. So that *Tiberius* finding encouragement to proceed upon his design, in hopes the Senate and People

ple would be of his side, he undertook the Affair after he had caus'd a report to be spread, that he intended to give him the Tribune-ship in order to take him unprovided. He wrote Letters to the Senate, in which he accus'd him, sending them by *Navius Sertorius Macro*, whom he had privately made Colonel of the Guards, and instructed in what was to be done. *Macro* coming by Night to *Rome*, as if 'twere upon some other business, after having shewn the Emperor's orders to *Memmius Regulus* the Consul (for his Colleague was in the faction of *Sejanus*) and to *Gracinus Laco*, Captain of the Night-Guards, went up to the Palace at break of Day (the Senate being to assemble in the Temple of *Apollo*) and meeting *Sejanus* by chance as he was going thither, and seeing him in some disorder because *Tiberius* had not writ to him, he recover'd his Spirits by letting him know that he brought him the Tribune-ship: Upon which *Sejanus* full of joy went in immediately. *Macro* after he had sent back to the Camp the *Pretorian* Soldiers, that attended *Sejanus* and the Senate, by vertue of his Commission which he shew'd them, and the Money

Money which he gave among them by order of *Tiberius*, dispos'd the Night-Guards about the Temple in their place, then went in himself. As soon as he entered, he deliver'd to the Consuls their Letters, and went out again before they were read, and giving *Laco* orders to have a diligent Eye every where, went directly to the Camp in order to prevent any sedition that might arise there. In the mean time the Letters were read which were very long. They contain'd no formal Accusation of *Sejanus*, the beginning spoke of quite another thing; then by degrees they touch'd upon it, and after a little digression mention'd it again. The conclusion was, that they were to make out a Process against two Senators, intimate Friends of *Sejanus*, and send *Sejanus* himself to Prison. For *Tiberius* did not order them to put him to Death, lest it should raise a tumult. In the mean time 'twas a pleasure to see and hear the different effects those Letters produc'd: For immediately before they were opened, all in general were full of the praises of *Sejanus*, saying, at last they saw the accomplishment of their wishes. But afterwards, when

when they found the Letters contain'd the reverse of what they pretended to desire so fervently, they were for a time struck dumb with surprize, then of a sudden they began to make a clamour, and some of those who sat near *Sejanus*, rose up while the Pretors and Tribunes surrounded him, lest he should attempt to escape in order to go and raise some disorders, which he had certainly done if they had at first dash laid any thing of weight to his charge. But seeming to despise all the points of these Letters, and imagining they contain'd nothing but some few angry words against him, he did not so much as attempt to remove from his place. Thereupon *Regulus* call'd him, but he did not stir, not out of any contempt (for he was already but too humble) but because he knew not how to obey. So that the Consul having call'd him a second time, and then a third, he said aloud to him lifting up his Hand, ' Come hither *Sejanus* ; to ' which having answered, Do you speak ' to me ? He rose and went towards him, ' follow'd by *Laco*.

After

After the Letters were read, every one began to clamour against him, and to heap Curses upon him, some because he had injur'd them, and others because they fear'd him. Several conceal'd the Friendship they had born him before, and others rejoyc'd at his fall. *Regulus* and the other Magistrates conducted him from the Palace to Prison. In which we may see a remarkable Instance of the inconstancy of things below, which shews at the same time that our minds ought never to be exalted with good fortune : Since this Man whom every body attended in the Morning to the Senate, as the first in Power, was a moment after drag'd to Prison as the last of Men ; He who had Crowns consecrated to him, was loaded with Chains, and in a word, he that us'd to be surrounded with a Train of Guards for his Honour, was now lock'd up like a Felon. On the other side the People rising began to insult him, and vented a thousand Curses against him for the Murders he had directed, laughing besides at his past hopes ; They threw down his Statues every where, broke them in pieces, and drag'd them along with as much

much fury, as if they had committed this Violence upon his own Person : By which he might clearly see what he was to hope for.

In effect sometime after, he was thrown headlong from the top of the *Capitol* by Decree of the Senate, and his Body cast into the *Tiber* after it had been drag'd for three Days along the Streets, by the People who put a thousand indignities upon it. His Children were also executed, his Daughter who was promis'd to the Son of *Clodius*, being first ravish'd in Prison by the Executioner, because it was not lawful to put a Virgin to Death. Then arose a great disorder in *Rome* : For while the People put all those to the Sword, who from their credit with *Sejanus* had taken occasion to make concussions among them ; The Soldiers being in great wrath to find they had been suspected to be in the Interests of *Sejanus*, and that the Night Guards should have been esteem'd more faithful to the Emperour, plunder'd of all sides, and set fire to several Places. The Senate ordered the Statue of *Liberty* to be set up in the Market-place, and that every Year upon the Day of *Sejanus's* Death,
a Festival

a Festival should be celebrated, in which a great many Beasts were to be kill'd, which had never yet been practis'd; yet more, that no extraordinary Honours should be granted to any one for the future, and that it should be lawful to swear only by the Fortune of the Emperour.

But notwithstanding all these Decrees, they did not forbear still to flatter *Macro* and *Laco*, tho' these two being frightned with the Example they lately had before their Eyes, refus'd all sorts of Honours. *Tiberius* laying hold of the occasion of *Sejanus*'s misdemeanors, put several to Death upon that pretext, some by the Hand of the Executioner, and others by obliging them to kill themselves. To have been the Friend of *Sejanus*, or to have been so in appearance only was sufficient cause for an Accusation, as if *Tiberius* had not lov'd him first himself, and as if others had not made their Court to him upon his account. Nevertheless in the midst of all these cruelties, he shew'd some shadow of Mercy in pardoning *Cassianus*, *Lucius Sejanus* the Pretor, and *M. Terentius* the Roman Knight. This last *Sejanus* had given some Publick Shews

Shews that lasted from Morning till Night, which were represented by Persons that were bald, to ridicule *Tiberius* who was so: Nay, there were five thousand Children all shav'd, who held Lights to the People as they went out of the Theatre. Yet *Tiberius* was so far from conceiving the least displeasure at it, that at first he pretended not to comprehend what they told him, tho' from this time they call'd all those People, the *Bald-pates* of *Sejanus*. As for *Terentius*, being accus'd of having been *Sejanus's* Friend, he not only confess'd the thing, but affirm'd that he had born him a very great affection, because he saw him in so great esteem with the Emperour: ' For if *Tiberius*, said he, did well to admit him into his favour, I have committed no crime; but if the Emperour has been mistaken, who has so much judgment and understanding, what wonder is it that I am fall'n into the same precipice! Are we not to love and reverence those whom he advances to honour without inquiring what they are? And if they are agreeable to the Emperor, is not that sufficient to merit our Love and our Respect? Upon
this

this the Senate not only acquitted *Terentius*, but reprimanded the Accusers severely. *Tiberius* having ratified this Decree of the Senate, was extreamly applauded for it, and so much the more, because all the noted Evidences at *Rome* were put to Death by his order in one day. But on the other side it is not to be express'd, how infamous he made himself by his Amours with regard to both Sexes, whereof I'll give you one Example. *Sextus Marius* was one of his particular Friends, which had given him an opportunity of heaping up a great deal of Wealth. So very rich he was, that upon a time having a difference with one of his Neighbours, he invited him to stay two days at his House, the first of which he order'd the other's House to be pull'd down, and next day employ'd so many Hands, that it was entirely rebuilt, and made finer and nobler than before. The Master being astonish'd at it, and not knowing how it could be done, he own'd that he had been the Author of both, adding, that 'twas in his power to be reveng'd of his Enemies, and to reward his Friends just after the same manner. This Man ha-
ving

ving a Daughter extreamly handſom,
ſent her out of *Rome*, becauſe he was
afraid *Tiberius* would have been famili-
ar with her ; but being accus'd imme-
diately of having committed Inceſt
with his own Daughter, he was put to
Death.

Tiberius had a Grandſon by *Drufus*,
call'd *Tiberius*, who was a Child, and
another by *Germanicus*, call'd *Caius*,
whom he was fondeſt of, becauſe he
was to ſucceed him in the Empire, for
he knew the Deſtinies of both ſo well,
that once *Caius* having a difference with
the other, 'tis reported that he ſaid to
him : ' You'l one day command him to
' be put to Death, but you'l afterwards
' be kill'd your ſelf. And as he had
no Relation that was nearer to him,
and knowing beſide that he would prove
a very ill Prince, he willingly left him
the Empire, that the Irregularities of
his Succeſſor exceeding his own, might
drown the Memory of his own Faults ;
beſides, he had a mind that the
greateſt part of the Senate might be
deſtroy'd after his Death, having very
often that ancient Verſe in his Mouth,

S

—When

—————*When ere I die,
May all Mankind dissolv'd in Ashes lie!*

Yet more, he often said that he thought *Priamus* happy, to see his Kingdom and Country perish with him. What happen'd at this time, affords but too much ground to write these things of *Tiberius*, for he put to Death so great a number of Senators, and Men of all Conditions, that he was oblig'd, for want of People to supply their places, to continue the *Prætorians* for three years, and the Consular Men for six, in the Provinces they had by Lot at the expiration of their Magistracies. *Gal-lus* was of the number of those whom he had put to Death, *Tiberius* being then, as he said, with much difficulty reconcil'd to him. So that in his opinion, Life was a Punishment, and Death a Favour. *M. Æmilius Scaurus* too for no other crime than writing a Tragedy, suffer'd a greater Catastrophe than that which he had describ'd in his *Atreus*. In imitation of *Euripides*, he advis'd those who liv'd under the Government of an ill Prince, to be patient under his Tyranny.

Tyranny. But *Tiberius* misinterpreting the thing, and believing that he meant him by *Atreus*, upon the account of the Murders which he had committed, said, that he would make an *Ajax* of *Scaurus*; which he effected by obliging him to kill himself. However, the Accusation was not form'd upon this alone, for he was charg'd with some familiarity between him and *Livilla*, on which occasion several others were likewise put to Death. The same year, if the Affairs of *Egypt* have any connexion with those of *Rome*, there appear'd a Phœnix in those parts, which seem'd to presage the Death of *Tiberius*, who fell very sick the year after, and *Caius* being afraid lest he should recover, hindred him from receiving any Nourishment, saying, 'twould do him hurt: At length pretending that he wanted heat, he order'd such a load of Cloaths to be laid upon him, that he was actually stifled. *Macro* attended *Caius* diligently at this time, for when he saw *Tiberius* in extremity, he omitted nothing to gain the Heart of this young Man; nay, so far did he carry on his Interest with him, that he

assisted him in his Love with his own Wife *Ennia Thrasilla*: Which *Tiberius* having once perceiv'd, he said to him, ' You are in the right, *Macro*, to leave ' the Setting, for the Rising Sun. Thus died *Tiberius*, whose Life was full of great Vertues, and at the same time sullied with notorious Vices, yet in such a manner, that as he shew'd them both apart, one would have said, that he had resolv'd to make experience of both. He liv'd seventy seven years, four Months, and nine Days, whereof he reign'd twenty two Years, seven Months, and four Days. His Funeral was publick, and *Caius* pronounc'd the Oration.

T H E

T H E
R E I G N
 O F T H E
 E M P E R O R
CAIUS CALIGULA.

C*AIUS* succeeding to the Empire, sent *Tiberius's* Will to the Senate, and cancell'd it under pretence that he was delirious when he made it, because he had nam'd *Tiberius* his Grandson, to be Emperor joyntly with him, tho' he was then so young, that he had not attain'd the Age requir'd by Law to enter into the Senate. Some time after he put him to Death. He restor'd the Dancers, and was so profuse in those

kinds of Diversions, as likewise in Horse-Races, and the Combats of Gladiators, that he consum'd in a little time all the Money in the *Exchequer*, in which having found twenty seven Millions of Gold, he wasted it all before the third year. Never did any Man commit more Adulteries. He took away a Woman that was contracted to another, and debauch'd abundance of Married Women, tho' he hated them all afterwards, except one, whom he had certainly treated like the rest, if he had liv'd longer. He abus'd his Grandmother and his Sisters beyond what can be express'd: For one day when the first would have check'd him for his strange courses, he constrain'd her to kill her self; and for his Sisters, he banish'd two of them to an Island, after he had committed Incest with them, the third being dead before. He was so humourfom, and so difficult to serve, that no body knew what to say or do to please him: And if he was successful in his Affairs sometimes, 'twas rather an effect of his Fortune, than of Conduct. Sometimes he lov'd Company, and sometimes would be alone.

He

He was angry when Petitions were presented to him, and as much in choler when they presented none. Sometimes he did things in heat, and sometimes with the utmost negligence. He was lavish in matters of Expence, and shew'd an extream avarice when Money was to be rais'd. Flatterers and Free-talkers were us'd alike, that is to say, sometimes well, and sometimes ill. He would not punish the Crimes of several People that were of no Consequence, and put to Death a great number of worthy Men. To day he was civil to his Friends, and to morrow abus'd them. In short, when the *Roman* People saw themselves under the subjection of such a Prince, they observ'd the same difference between the Irregularities of *Caius*, and those of *Tiberius*, how extraordinary soever they had appear'd, as they had found before between the conduct of *Augustus*, and that of *Tiberius*.

Caligula held so scandalous a familiarity with the Dancers and other Persons of the Theatre, that he often convers'd with *Apelles* the famous Comedian before all the World. Their dexterity in process of time, made him so

unaccountably jealous, that he undertook to dispute the Preference with some of them in their own Art. He drove Chariots in the *Circus*, fought as a *Gladiator*, danc'd publickly before the People, and acted in Tragedies. He sent once for the principal Persons of the Senate to attend him upon some important Affair, and when they were come, he fell a dancing before them. In the beginning of his Reign he never spoke in the Senate, but with a singular moderation, calling himself their Pupil, and assuring them, that he would do nothing without their Advice. He wanted then but five Months and four days of 25 years compleat. He set all the Prisoners at liberty, and among the rest *Pomponius*, who had languish'd in Prison for the space of seven years, ever since he had been Consul. He was Consul with his Uncle *Claudius*, who during that time had remain'd in the Order of Knights. But having been deputed to *Caligula* by his own Body after the death of *Tiberius*, he was made Senator and Consul at the Age of six and forty years. The Senate was so well satisfied with this wise Conduct of

Caligula

Caligula, and found the discourse which he had pronounc'd, so just and reasonable, that they made an Order, that it should be read every year, to the end that he might not forget it, or change his Opinion. He gave to the People divers Shews, among the rest there was a Combat of forty Bears, against as many other Beasts of *Africa*. His Triumphal Chariot was drawn by six Horses, which had never been done before. The Senators were furnish'd with Cushions, that they might no longer sit upon naked Benches, as they had always done till then. They had likewise permission to wear Hats in the Theatre after the *Thessalian* fashion, as a fence against the heat of the Sun, and during the most excessive heats, they made use of the *Diribitorium* for Sports and Combats, in stead of the Theatre.

Caligula after that fell into a dangerous Sickness, out of which he recovered. But soon after he put to Death the young *Tiberius*, Grandson to the Emperor of the same Name, under a pretence that he had wish'd his Death. He likewise caus'd several others to be put to Death. *Publius Afranius Politus* a
Plebeian

Plebeian, having sworn by the most extravagant of all Flatteries to kill himself if the Emperor recover'd, and *Afranius Secundus* a Knight, having oblig'd himself to run the risque of a single Combat upon the same Subject, in stead of rewarding them as they expected for their zeal, he constrain'd them to keep their Oaths, lest as he said, they should make themselves guilty of Perjury. *Marcus Silanus* his Father-in-Law, who had made no promise or Oath of that Nature, procur'd his own Death, when he saw that his Vertue and Alliance with *Caligula* serv'd but to excite his hatred, and draw Affronts upon him. *Tiberius* had preserv'd so particular an opinion of his Sufficiency and Probity, that he would never suffer any Appeal from his Judgments; *Caligula* on the contrary us'd him ill upon all occasions, and call'd him the Golden-Fleece. He put away his Daughter, and Married *Cornelia Orestina*, whom he forc'd away from *Calpurnius Piso* her Husband, at the very Ceremony of his Wedding, to which he had been invited. But before two Months were expir'd, he condemn'd them both to Banishment, accusing them
of

of having lain together. He suffer'd *Piso* to carry ten Slaves with him, and when he petition'd him for a greater number, he told him, he might take as many as he would, provided he had an equal number of Soldiers to guard him.

The first day of the Month of *January* a Slave nam'd *Maco*, got upon the Pedestal of *Jupiter's* Statue in the *Capitol*, and after he had utter'd some terrible Predictions, he kill'd a little Dog which he had carried with him, and afterwards himself.

Caligula being unable to satisfy his Passion of shedding Blood, engag'd a great number of Persons to fight together, some in single Combats, and others in Parties, so that in one day there were six and twenty Horsemen kill'd. He was so prodigiously Cruel, as to command a great number of People who were sitting upon their Benches, to be expos'd to the Beasts, and to constrain them to fight in the room of condemn'd Criminals. And to hinder them from crying out, and complaining of this Violence, he commanded their Tongues to be cut out. He forc'd

a Knight of Reputation to fight with a Gladiator, as a punishment for having fail'd in his Respects to his Mother *Agrippina*, and when he came off Victorious, he had him tried and condemn'd. He gave orders to put the Father of the same Knight into an Iron Cage, as well as several others, and had him put to Death, tho' he had committed no Crime. Those Combats were at first perform'd in an inclos'd Ground, where they took out the Earth, and fill'd the cavity with Water, upon which Boats might pass. Then he remov'd them to other places, after he had pull'd down the Houses, and made great cavities in the Earth. These new Enterprizes and immense Charges, joyn'd with the frequency and cruelty of the Murders he commanded, rais'd against him the publick hatred. The violence he us'd against *Macro* and *Ennia*, contributed very much to the Odium that was conceiv'd against him. For without remembering the love he had entertain'd for the one, or the good Offices he had receiv'd from the other, he us'd them so injuriously, that they were compell'd to have recourse to a Death, whose

infamy

infamy he shar'd with them. For among the crimes he charg'd *Macro* with, he accus'd him of having been the Accomplise and Minister of his Debaucheries.

He put to Death several Persons accus'd of divers Crimes, but who were really guilty of no other, than that of enjoying good Estates, which he wanted after he had exhausted the publick Treasure, and had engag'd himself in profusions, which no Fund was large enough to satisfie. A few days after he Married *Lollia Paulina*, whom *Memmius Regulus* her Husband, was oblig'd to give him in Marriage, lest he should seem to have taken her against the Laws, in case she had not been resign'd to him. Having one day observ'd a great deal of Dirt in a Street, he commanded some of it to be thrown upon the Robe of *Vespasian*, who was then *Edile*, and was charg'd with the care of keeping the Streets clean. This Order was executed without occasioning any reflection at that time. But in process of time 'twas remark'd, that it had been given by a particular conduct of Providence, when 'twas seen that *Vespasian*
by

by his management of publick Affairs, banish'd Confusion and Disorder from *Rome*, and in their place introduc'd Justice, and the Laws which the Civil Wars had abolish'd.

The People having one day call'd *Caligula* young Emperor, he fancied the Acclamation was injurious to him; whereupon he reveng'd himself by the death of several Persons, some of which were drag'd from their Seats in the Theatre, and others were seiz'd as they were returning home. He often made such Executions. Once he threatned all the People in these terms, ' Would to the ' Gods that you had all but one Head. In one day five hundred Bears were kill'd in a Combat, and as many other Beasts of *Africa*. *Caligula* having, as I have said, so ardent a passion for Chariots and Horses, was inflam'd with such a jealousy against those who had any excellency in the art of managing them, that he put some of them openly to Death, and got others privately dispatch'd by Poison. He favour'd the Party that was call'd the *Green*, because he was distinguish'd by a Dress of that Colour, to that degree, that the place
where

where the Chariots of that Faction ran, is to this day call'd the *Field of Caius*. He invited to Supper a Horse of that Faction call'd *Incitatus*, order'd him to be serv'd in Golden Dishes, swore by the Health and Fortune of this Horse, design'd him for the Consulship, and had certainly made him Consul, if he had not been prevented by Death. He made a Speech in the Senate, wherein he inserted a Character of *Tiberius*, and a long Satyr against the Assembly. He said to them among other things, ' You have behav'd your selves very ill to-wards *Tiberius*, you have ev'n occasion'd his Death, by the Insolence which you encourag'd in *Sejanus*, insomuch that I ought not to expect any good from you. After that he introduc'd *Tiberius*, and made him approve of his Discourse by these words which he said for him. ' You have spoke nothing, my Dear *Caius*, but what is true. For which reason 'tis your Interest not to love or spare any of these Men. They all hate you, and wish your Death. No body obeys you heartily. Every one careses him that has the power, in proportion to his

‘ his fears of him, and if he ceas’d to
 ‘ fear him, he would likewise cease to
 ‘ respect him. After having spoke in
 this manner, he rose up, left the Se-
 nate, and went to a House of Pleasure
 near the City.

The Senators were so astonish’d at
 this Discourse, that they were Speech-
 less. But meeting the next day they ex-
 toll’d his Clemency, and voted him their
 humble thanks that they were still a-
 live, and order’d that every year upon
 the same day he had made this Haran-
 gue, the Senate should sacrifice to his
 Mercy. After this they no longer o-
 mitted any occasion of flattering him
 in the most servile terms. But *Caligu-
 la* despising the Honours they had paid
 him, had the vanity to pass on Horse-
 back over the Sea, and to fill up the
 Strait that is between *Puteoli* and *Balli*,
 which contains about six and twenty
 Furlongs. They got together upon this
 occasion all the Boats they could find,
 and there being not a sufficient num-
 ber to compass the Work, new ones
 were order’d to be made. He was not
 satisfied with a Bridge alone, there were
 Houses built upon it, and an Aqueduct
 was

was made to convey fresh Water upon it. When the Work was accomplish'd, *Caligula* put on his Cuirass, which he call'd the Cuirass of *Alexander*, and over it a Military Habit made of Silk, of a purple Colour, imboss'd with Gold and Jewels. Then taking his Sword, and Buckler, with a Crown of Oaken Leafs he sacrific'd to *Neptune* and to *Envy*, lest any one should envy his good fortune. He advanc'd upon the Bridge, attended with an Army of Foot and Horse, then return'd towards *Rome* with the same Equipage, as if he had march'd against an Enemies City. Resting the next day in the same manner as 'tis usual after a Battel, he pass'd over the same Bridge in a Chariot sumptuously dress'd. The Chariot was drawn by Horses that were bred to the Race, and us'd to Victory, and follow'd by a great Equipage, that represented the Spoils of some conquer'd Nation. *Darius Arfacides*, who was at that time sent as Hostage from the *Parthians*, made the principal Ornament of the Shew. As it was but reasonable that *Caligula* should harangue so numerous an Army after the Signal Victory he

T

had

had obtain'd, he mounted upon a Throne prepar'd for the purpose in the middle of the Bridge, extoll'd in the most sublime Terms, the generosity of his Undertakings, then commended his Soldiers for the Hardship they had sustain'd, and the Dangers they had run, and above all, for the Glory they had acquir'd in marching upon the Sea. When he had finish'd his Discourse, he remain'd upon the Bridge as he would have done in an Island, having his Army in Boats around him, and pass'd the rest of the Day and the whole Night in Feasting and Debauchery. This place was made as light as 'twas possible by the Fires that burnt upon the Mountains, that surround it like a Theatre in the form of a Demi-circle. *Caligula* having eat and drank to excess, threw several of his Friends over the Bridge into the Sea, where some of 'em were drown'd, but the greatest part though drunk were sav'd. He was extreamly vain upon it, and said that *Neptune* fear'd his Power. He also took occasion to speak with contempt of the designs of *Darius* and *Xerxes*, who had undertaken nothing com-

comparable to what he had perform'd.

The number of the Persons of Quality whom he put to Death is so great, that it is not easie to count them. However 'tis necessary to take notice of some of them, in order to shew to what height his Madness rose. *Junius Priscus* the *Prætor* was charg'd with some Crimes, but was really condemn'd for his Riches. *Caligula* having understood that he had committed nothing that deserv'd Death, said, to every bodies amazement, he has deceiv'd me, and is unseasonably dead, he might have liv'd without being disturb'd. *Domitius Afer* was expos'd to a danger that was very extraordinary, from which he was deliver'd by a piece of good fortune that was yet more strange. Having one day under the reign of *Tiberius*, met *Agrippina* the Mother of *Caligula*, and turning from her as it were from a motive of Shame, and fear of being seen by her, because he had once brought on a Prosecution against a Lady who was one of her Relations, she was inform'd of it, and ordering him to be call'd before her, said to him, Fear nothing, *Domitius*: I don't lay the blame

upon you, but upon *Agamemnon*. This *Domitius* having since erected a Statue to *Caligula*, and having put an Inscription under it, by which it was noted, that at twenty seven years of Age he was in his second Consulship, the Emperor took this remark both for a reproach on his Youth, and a contravention made to the Laws, and was in a violent passion about it. He accus'd him on the instant in full Senate, and read a long Invective, or rather an Accusation form'd against him, and founded upon the same Subject, for which he had expected a Reward. *Caligula* had a very good opinion of his Eloquence, and had made an extraordinary effort to surpass *Domitius*, whom he knew to be an excellent Orator. He had without doubt put him to Death, if he had dar'd to contest with him, though never so little, the glory of speaking well. Thus *Domitius* far from undertaking to refute his Discourse, pretended to admire it, and going back to all the particulars, and handling them in their order, extoll'd it with infinite Commendations, as if he had harkned to it only to applaud it, and as if he had nothing to fear from the Success of it. When

When he had leave to make his Defence, instead of employing the Advantages which Nature and Art had furnish'd him with, he had recourse to Deprecations and Tears. At last he threw himself upon the Ground, and continued there prostrate for some time, humbly asking his Pardon, and making appear by this Posture, and by his Cries, or by his Silence, that how terrible soever the power of the Emperor was, he had less to fear from that, than from the invincible force of his Eloquence. *Caligula* had the ridiculous vanity to imagine, that he had really got the better of this famous Orator in his own Art, and was so transported with joy upon it, that he forgot his Anger, and as well in consideration of his fancied Conquest, as in favour to a Freedman nam'd *Callistus*, whom he lov'd, and to whom *Domitius* had us'd to make his Court, he pardon'd him. This *Callistus* having afterwards taken the liberty to tell him, that the Charge he had brought against *Domitius* was unjust, and that it had been better to have avoided it, he answer'd, that he had not power to suppress so rare a Masterpiece in the

Art of Speaking. Thus *Domitius* escap'd only by his Address, in suffering his Eloquence to be condemn'd. *Seneca* the most excellent Philosopher at that time among the *Romans*, or even among many other Nations, was very near losing his Life by a like occasion. For though he was neither accus'd nor suspected of any Crime, *Caligula* had a design to put him to Death out of envy to the Applause and Reputation with which he had pleaded a Cause in his presence before the Senate, and he had executed his design, if one of the Women whom this Philosopher entertain'd, had not diverted him from it, by assuring him that his Lungs were infected, and that he must shortly die of a natural Death.

Caligula soon after nam'd *Domitius* Consul, and put out those that were then in being, for having celebrated Sports according to Custom, in Commemoration of the Victory formerly obtain'd by *Augustus* over *Anthony*. For to have a pretence to find fault with them, he affected to seem to be deriv'd rather from *Anthony* than *Augustus*, and a little before he had said to those to whom

whom he disclos'd his most secret Thoughts, that whatsoever method the Consuls took, they could not avoid punishment, because if they made Sacrifices, they would be guilty of rejoycing for the defeat of *Anthony*, and if they made none, they would be accountable for not giving thanks to the Gods for the Victory of *Augustus*. He banish'd *Carinus Secundus* Professor of Rhetorick, for having pronounc'd a Discourse against Tyrants, though he design'd it only to exercise his Stile, and to give the Publick some proofs of his Capacity.

When he had exhausted *Rome* and *Italy* of Money, he turn'd his thoughts towards *Gaul* and *Spain*, and resolv'd to gather the Spoils of those fertile Provinces. He made for this end a very numerous Equipage of Dancers, Gladiators, Women and Horses. When he was in that Country 'twas observ'd, that to be possess'd of an Estate was a Crime. He sat himself at the sale of Goods and Lands, and made much more considerable Sums of them, than any body else could, because he constrain'd the Buyers to pay a Price that exceeded

the just Value. When he saw that this way of Sale was so advantagious to him, he order'd the most precious Moveables of his Palace to be brought, and whilst they were setting up at the Auction, he said, ' This was my Father's, ' this Necklace was that which my ' Mother us'd to wear. *Anthony* brought ' this rare piece out of *Egypt* : *Augustus* ' heretofore won these Spoils from his ' Enemies. He preserv'd none of those costly Ornaments, but lavish'd them all away according to his Custom, either in Largesses to his Soldiers, or in other extravagant expences. He rais'd an Army of two hundred and fifty thousand Men, and he made a shift to destroy almost all of them, by obliging them to fight together, sometimes one to one, sometimes more to an equal number. Having one day observ'd a great Train of Prisoners, or some such People, whereof the first and last were bald, he commanded them all to be massacred. Money failing him once at Play, he call'd for the account of the State of *Gaul*, and after having read it, he order'd some of the richest Men of that Province to be put to Death.

Which

Which done, he return'd to those who were at Play, and said to them, ' Whilst ' you amuse your selves at small Game, ' I have got fifteen hundred thousand ' Drachma's. Thus did he put to death very innocent People, without any shadow of Justice. One may put in the same rank a Man pretty much at his ease, yet of no substance so extraordinary, as to put his Life in danger upon the account of his Wealth. He was call'd *Julius Sacerdos*, and was executed for the sake of his Name. In this manner was every thing done under this unhappy Reign, without any cause or formality of Justice. He had us'd *Claudius* after the same manner, if he had not despis'd him as a Man of a slow and stupid Nature, though perhaps he affected to appear so more than he was.

Caligula advancing towards the Ocean, as if he design'd to carry the War into *Great Britain*, put his Army in order of Battel upon the Shoar, embark'd, and after he had gone a little way out to Sea, return'd of a sudden, landed, mounted upon a very high Throne, gave the word to his Soldiers,

as

as if he had been ready to give Battel, made the Trumpets sound to the Charge, and then commanded them to gather Shells. When he was possess'd of those precious Spoils, which he wanted to adorn his Triumph, he seem'd full of that Noble Fire which the glorious Title of Conqueror of the Ocean had inspir'd him with, and rewarded with Magnificence the important Services of his Army. He carried even to *Rome*, those Shells as testimonies of his Valour. The Senate who were sensible of the extravagance of his Humour, were at a loss to know whether they should praise him for this Exploit, or take no notice of it. For he that makes use of big Words to extol a small Action, seems to have no other design than to rally. Nevertheless *Caligula* had like to have destroy'd the whole Senate, because at his return they did not give him extraordinary and almost divine Honours. Having after that call'd the People together, he threw among them from a high place pieces of Gold and Silver, among which there were Iron Spikes, and by which several Persons were kill'd. He condemn'd to Death at
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the same time *Cassius Vetellinus*, and forc'd *Capito* his Father, a Man of Probity, against whom there was nothing alledg'd, to assist at the Execution. This unfortunate Father having begg'd of him that he might be suffer'd to shut his Eyes at least, he commanded him to be put to Death with his Son. The common Minister of his Cruelties was one *Protogenes*, who carried always about him two Registers, whereof he call'd one the Sword, and the other the Dagger. This *Protogenes* entring one day into the Senate, all the Senators throng'd about him to pay him their Respects. He perceiv'd among 'em *Scribonius Proculus*, and darting a look at him full of Anger, he said to him, 'How dare you Salute me, you who are an Enemy to the Emperor! The Senators had no sooner heard those words, but they fell upon *Proculus*, and pull'd him in pieces, at which *Caligula* was so transported with Joy, that he declar'd he was reconcil'd to them. They made an Order, that in their Assemblies he should sit upon a high Throne, incompass'd with Guards, that no body might approach him.

Some

Some gave him the Title of Hero, and others that of a God, which made him inconceivably proud. He had for some time wish'd to be taken for somewhat more than Man, and to have it believ'd, that he had a private intercourse with the Moon, and that he had been Crown'd by the Hands of Victory. He pretended to be *Jupiter*, and to maintain himself in that Reputation, he boasted of his familiarity with a great number of Women, and chiefly with his Sisters. He disguis'd himself sometimes like *Juno*, *Diana* and *Venus*, and chang'd Habits as well as Names. Sometimes he appear'd in a soft effeminate Garb, with a Crook in his Hand cover'd with Vine-Leafs, like a Bacchanal, and sometimes with a Masculine Air, a Club and a Lyon's Skin. One day he was seen with a long Beard, and the next shav'd very close. He held a Trident in his Hand when the fancy took him, and then he lanc'd his Thunder. Today he was disguis'd like an Amazon, and to morrow like another sort of Woman, and was continually changing Habits and Ornaments, to appear quite otherwise than a Man. A Gaul
seeing

seeing him one day dress'd like *Jupiter*, and seated upon a Throne rais'd very high, from whence he deliver'd Oracles, could not forbear laughing. *Caligula* having perceiv'd it, call'd the Man, and ask'd him what opinion he entertain'd of him: The *Gaul* replied very frankly, 'That he seem'd to him very extravagant. He did him no hurt, because he was but a Shoemaker, and in that follow'd the custom of Great Men, who are more willing to hear the truth from an ordinary Man, than from a Man of Quality.

When he disguis'd himself like a God, he had publick Prayers and Sacrifices made to him. When he was not so disguis'd, he wore a Habit of Silk upon ordinary days, such a one as was usually worn upon a day of Triumph. He embrac'd, and kiss'd some Persons: But he gave his Hand or his Foot to others to kiss, even to Senators. They, to whom he did the honour to kiss them, gave him thanks in a full Senate, tho' 'twas an Honour he did the publick Dancers and Buffoons before all the World. The most considerable Men of the Empire, flatter'd his ridiculous Passions

sions with the vilest complaisance. *Lucius Vitellius*, a Man who wanted neither Birth nor Understanding, flatter'd 'em with a lower submission than any body beside. He had got a great reputation in *Syria*, while he commanded the Troops there: For having met with *Artaban* in that Countrey, who insulted him, and who had already seiz'd upon *Armenia*, he put him into such a Consternation by the firmness and resolution, with which he march'd against him upon the Banks of *Euphrates*, that he forc'd him to a Treaty, and to agree to Sacrifice before the Statues of *Augustus* and *Caligula*, to grant the *Romans* an advantageous Peace, and to give them his Children as Hostages.

The *Parthians* having driven away their King, the whole blame was thrown upon this *Vitellius*, and *Caligula* summon'd him to answer for this Accident. When he saw that he was Persecuted by Envy and Hatred, and that he was ready to be Sacrific'd to the diffidence of the Emperor, he sav'd himself by descending much below the opinion that was entertain'd of him, by casting himself at the Feet

Feet of the Emperor, moistning the Earth with his Tears, adoring him as a God, and promising to Sacrifice to him if he would be so merciful as to save his Life. By this artifice he won upon *Caligula*, to that degree, that he not only obtain'd his pardon, but became one of his most intimate Friends. As this Prince was one Day pretending to kiss the Moon, he ask'd *Vitellius* if he did not see her kiss him : Then *Vitellius* began to hold down his Head, and trembling said to him, 'Tis the priviledge of you Gods alone to be able to see one another. From this beginning *Vitellius* became the greatest Flatterer of his Age.

Caligula's mind being quite corrupted by the vanity which these ridiculous Encomiums inspir'd into him, he erected a Temple to his own Honour in *Rome*, and built an Apartment to himself in the *Capitol*, in order to lodge with *Jupiter*. But afterwards accusing this God of having taken the first Place, and not being satisfied himself with the second, he order'd another Temple to be built in the Palace with all imaginable speed, and he design'd

sign'd to have the Statue of *Jupiter Olympian* carried thither, and to alter it by putting his own Head upon it. But he could not accomplish it, because the Vessel which was prepar'd for this purpose was broke with a clap of Thunder, and every time they attempted to remove the Statue, they heard a great noise of Laughing. Thus the Emperor, after he had threatned *Jupiter*, order'd another Statue to be carv'd, and having demolish'd the Temple which had been anciently built in the middle of the *Forum*, in honour of *Castor* and *Pollux*, he made a passage between their Statues to go to his Palace, and took occasion to boast that those two Gods served him for Porters.

He took the Title of chief Priest of *Jupiter*, and chose *Cesonia* his Wife, *Claudius* and others of great Wealth to officiate at the Altar, from each of which he got two hundred thousand Drachma's. He was Priest himself, and took his Horse for his Colleague in the Priesthood, and Sacrific'd every Day Birds of great rarity and value. He had a Machine to imitate Lightning and the noise
of

of Thunder, and when he heard it Thunder in earnest, he threw a great stone at each Clap, and repeated as 'twere in defiance of Heaven, a Verse of *Homer*, the sense of which was, that he would either kill the Father of the Gods, or be kill'd by him.

If we must pass over in silence several infamous ways which this new God, and this new *Jupiter* made use of to raise Money, yet one thing is not to be conceal'd, which is, that he had several Apartments in his Palace, where he kept Women and young Children of the best Families in *Rome*, with whom he drove a most abominable Trade. 'Twas without doubt one of his most agreeable diversions, and he never had a more sensible pleasure than when he was counting the Money which he had heap'd up by such scandalous methods.

When his brutality was at the height, *Cassius Cherea*, and *Cornelius Sabinus*, who were both Captains of the Guard, conspir'd against him. They discover'd their design to several others, as to *Calistus*, and to *Eparchus*. But they took the Execution of it upon themselves. This Che-

rea was a Man of a Vertue worthy of the first Ages. He had long had great reason not to love *Caligula*, because tho' he did not want Courage, he us'd to call him effeminate, and out of mockery would give him for the Watch-Word *Cupid* or *Venus*, or some such Name. *Caligula* had been warn'd by an Oracle to beware of *Cassius*. But he understood it of *Caius Cassius*, who commanded then in *Asia*, and who was descended from him that stab'd *Julius Cæsar*, and suspecting no body else, sent for him bound to *Rome*. Yet 'twas of *Cassius Cherea*, the Oracle spoke.

One *Apollonius* an *Egyptian*, having foretold the same accident in his own Countrey was brought to *Rome* upon that occasion, and arriv'd there upon the very Day the Conspiracy was to break out. But his Affair instead of being examin'd upon the spot, was put off till another time, and in the interim *Caligula* was kill'd, and *Apollonius* sav'd from the danger that threatned him. The business was executed in this manner.

Caligula made a great Feast, and gave all manner of Diversions in his Palace : There was a vast Crowd of People, in
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the midst of which he eat and drank voluptuously. *Pomponius Secundus*, the Consul was at Table just by him, and often kiss'd his Feet. When he got up to dance, and to act a part in a Tragedy, *Cherea* thought 'twas time to do the business, and kill'd him as he was coming out of the Theatre to see some Children that he had sent for out of *Greece* and *Ionia*, to perform some Songs that were made in his Praise. None of those who were present, attempted to oppose the design of the Conspirators. On the contrary several pierc'd his dead Body with their Swords, and some were inhumane enough to eat of it. The same hour they kill'd his Wife and Daughter.

Caligula having liv'd thus during the space of three Years and ten Months, found at last by Experience that he was no God. They who assisted at this tragical Execution, call'd to mind what he had formerly said to the People: 'Would
' to the Gods that you had all but one
' Neck, and saw plainly that he himself had but one, whereas the Conspirators had several Hands. The Guards took the Alarm immediately, and ran about

from place to place, demanding who had kill'd the Emperor : But *Valerius Asiaticus*, a Consular Man mounting upon a high place, appeas'd them after a wonderful manner, by crying out, ' Would ' to the Gods that I my self had kill'd ' him.

THE

T H E
R E I G N
O F
CLAUDIUS
T H E
E M P E R O R.

I SHALL relate here how *Claudius* came to the Empire. When *Caligula* was kill'd, the Consuls set Guards every where, and summon'd the Senate to the *Capitol*, where several Counsels were propos'd. Some were for restoring the Power into the Hands of the People, and others were for a Government by a single Person, and there was a very great diversity of opinions

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nions among them concerning the Choice of a Sovereign, which made them spend the rest of the Day, and the whole Night without taking any resolution. In the mean time, the Soldiers being got into the Palace with a design to plunder it, found *Claudius* there in a very obscure place, where he had hid himself for fear of being kill'd in the tumult. They drew him out, believing it was another, whom they might probably get something by. But when they saw 'twas He, they Proclaim'd him Emperor, and carried him to the Camp, where with the rest of their Companions they invested him with the Sovereign Power, as one who was descended from the Imperial Family, and had acquir'd the Character of a just and moderate Person. The Consuls were no sooner inform'd of what the Army had done, but they sent the Tribunes of the People and some other Officers to forbid *Claudius* to accept the Empire, and to command him to submit to the Authority of the People, Senate, and Laws. But when they saw that the Soldiers, to whom they had committed the Guard of the City forsook them, they consented
to

to the Proclaiming of *Claudius*, and order'd every thing they thought necessary to secure to him the possession of the Sovereign Power. Thus came *Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus*, Son of *Drusus*, and Grand-Son of *Livia* to the Empire, tho' he had never exercis'd any other Office than that of Consul. He was then in the Fiftieth Year of his Age : He had no bad understanding, had been well Educated, and had even formerly compos'd some Memoirs. He was not so well furnish'd as to the Gifts of the Body. For he was infirm, his Head and Hands subject to shake, from whence also proceeded his difficulty in speaking. These infirmities oblig'd him to be carried in a close Chair, which no *Roman* had ever us'd before, and from thence have the Emperors and the rest of us Consular Men taken the custom of using Chairs of that sort. For neither *Augustus* nor *Tiberius* us'd any thing but small Litters, which are still in fashion for the Women.

Tho' *Claudius* was not naturally inclin'd to ill, yet he had one horrid fault, which was, that he liv'd publickly in a scandalous submission to his Domesticks,

and his Mistresses. This perhaps proceeded from hence, that having been very infirm from his Childhood, he had been brought up in subjection under the Conduct of others, which oblig'd him sometimes to shew less Spirit than he had, as he acknowledg'd one Day in full Senate. Besides he had not preserv'd all his Liberty in the Company of Women, and as he was extreamly addicted to his Pleasures, they who had a mind to surprise him took the opportunity of his Feasts, and other times when he was yet less Master of himself, and when he was not able to refuse them any thing. Yet further, he was so fearful, that he was oftentimes incapable of taking any resolution. They who had got possession of his mind, us'd divers Stratagems to augment his fear, and by this means brought about whatsoever they pleas'd. They even made themselves formidable to others, as a Proof of which when they had invited any one to Supper, whom the Emperor had invited the same Day, the Person never fail'd to Sup with them, and to excuse himself to the Emperor. Nevertheless it must be own'd, that if *Claudius* could have avoided the faults

faults which those dangerous Courtiers made him fall into, he would have been a very tolerable Prince, and yet in spite of his faults the Empire was well govern'd. He got rid of *Cherea* and some others, not so much to revenge the Death of *Caligula*, as to provide for his own safety.

He was admir'd for his Methods of raising Taxes, abstaining from every thing that might seem injurious or distastful. He took particular care to regulate the Manners of the People, and to repress that Luxury which had prevail'd to excess in the former Reign. He made an Order that all Publick Houses should be shut up, and punish'd the Offenders. The City having suffer'd a great Dearth, *Claudius* did not content himself with supplying the present necessity, but would also provide for the occasions of following Ages, in building a Port whose convenience should furnish Provisions in abundance. The Corn that sustain'd the Inhabitants of *Rome* being drawn from forreign Countreys, the want of Ports and Roads about the Mouth of the *Tiber*, made the command of the Sea useless to them, because receiving

ceiving no Provisions in the Winter, they could not subsist during that troublesome Season, but upon what they had in their Granaries; or if any one durst venture to bring any at that time, ill success for the most part, condemn'd the rashness of his undertaking. The Emperor having ask'd his Architects how much this great Work would come to, they answer'd him with a design to divert him from it, that the expence would rise so high, that when they should give him a State of it, he would soon lay all thoughts of it aside. But far from quitting this design he bent his inclination to it, with a Zeal worthy of the *Roman* Generosity and Magnificence. He immediately order'd a great space of ground to be dug up, and laid Foundations all about it to receive the Sea in the middle. He afterwards rais'd two Banks, and between them a Tower in form of an Island, upon the top of which they put up Lights to be a guide to Ships in the Night. The whole work was call'd the *Port*.

Claudius

Claudius diverted the People frequently with the Combats of *Gladiators*, in which he took a singular pleasure. His greatest Entertainment was to see Combatants mangle one another, whilst he din'd. Yet he order'd a Lyon to be kill'd, that was accusom'd to eat Men, which for that reason was very agreeable to the People, shewing thereby that he did not approve of such bloody Spectacles. But the Habit he had got of seeing Blood spilt, made him more prompt to command Murders. Yet the whole fault is to be attributed to his Ministers, and to *Messalina*, the most insolent and abandon'd Woman of her time. For when they had a mind to ruin a Man, they frightned *Claudius* in making him believe he was in great danger, and thus obtain'd of him all they desir'd. He oftentimes gave order during the emotion and trouble which his fear rais'd in him, to put People to Death, whom he enquir'd for again when he was return'd to himself, and was Master of his Judgment, and when he understood what had been executed by his Order, he felt a very sensible grief. The first whose Blood he spilt,

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was *Caius Appius Silanus*, a Person of illustrious Birth, whose only Crime was his offending *Messalina*, by refusing to consent to her infamous Desires, and displeasing at the same time *Narcissus*, the Emperor's Freedman. This *Narcissus* suppos'd that he had had a Dream, in which he thought he saw *Appius* assassinate the Emperor, and going to him whilst he was in his Bed, he told him his Dream with a trembling Voice, and *Messalina* who was present, so artfully improv'd the Circumstances of it, and both together stamp'd such a terror upon his Mind, that the Condemnation of *Appius* was resolv'd upon so light a foundation as the shadow of a thought, which deludes the senses lock'd up in Sleep.

From the time that this Person of Note was condemn'd in this manner, the *Romans* no longer expected any good from the Administration of *Claudius*, which gave occasion to *Vinician* and *Camillus* Governors of Provinces to conspire against him. The news of their Enterprize put him into such a fright, that he was very near making a voluntary surrender of the Empire. But those

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two Captains being betray'd by their Soldiers miserably perish'd, and several others, as well Men as Women, died upon this occasion. The misfortunes of this time were so frequent and so extream, that there seem'd to be no other vertue in fashion, but a resolution of despising Death. *Claudius* oftengave a *Greek* Verse for the Word, the sense of which is, ' That we ought to be ' reveng'd of him, who attacks us without cause, He often repeated *Greek* Verses in full Senate. One day as he was giving Audience to some Deputies of *Lycia*, he spoke to one of them in *Latin*, who tho' he was a Native of that Country, had been made a *Roman* Citizen. The *Lycian* having not understood what he said, he depriv'd him of the Priviledge of the City, saying, ' That whosoever understood not the ' Language of *Rome*, did not deserve to ' be a Citizen of it. Since the *Romans* began to have some consideration for Strangers, and to give them the Freedom of their City, several petition'd *Claudius* for it, and bought it of *Messalina* his Wife, and his Favourites : It was at first very dear, but it fell at length

length to so low a price, that it became a common saying, that one might have it for a broken Glass.

Messalina in the mean time not contented with abandoning her self to the most profligate courses, constrain'd other Women to follow her Example, and made several in the Palace Cuckold their Husbands before their Faces. She esteem'd and countenanc'd those Men who patiently suffer'd that scandalous Prostitution, and preferr'd them to Employments and Dignities. For those who had not complaisance enough to consent to it, she bore them an implacable hatred, and us'd all sorts of ways to ruine them. *Claudius* was a long time unacquainted with these Disorders, because she sent him young Women to divert him, and by Presents corrupted or remov'd by threatening those who were suspected by her.

The Soldiers beginning to mutiny, *Narcissus* was sent by *Claudius* to appease them. But as soon as they saw this Freedman, who being mounted upon a high place, was preparing to make a Speech to them, they began to be more disorder'd than before, and cried
out

out with one Voice, *Ad Saturnalia*, which is a sort of Proverb founded upon the Custom, which the Slaves have of representing their Masters at that Festival. But that which is more astonishing, is, that the contempt which they had for *Narcissus*, carried them to submit to the Conduct of their General, and to pass into *Great Britain*, to make War upon the Inhabitants of that Island. *Vespasian* one of the Lieutenants of *Plautius*, got a great Reputation there. *Claudius* soon after went over thither in Person, and having engag'd the Enemies, routed them, plunder'd their Palaces, and acquir'd the surname of *Britannicus*.

Messalina falling desperately in Love with a Comedian called *Mneſter*, and not being able to make him consent to what she desir'd, intreated the Emperor to command him to obey her, as if it had been upon some other occasion than what she intended. When *Claudius* had commanded him to please the Empress in every thing she desir'd, he resisted no longer, as if the Obedience he paid in this Point, had been comprehended under the general Order he had

had receiv'd. She did the same thing to several others, and plung'd her self in Lewdness with the same freedom, as if she had had the consent of the Emperor for it.

The Sun, being to suffer an Eclipse, upon a day that was the Anniversary of *Claudius's* coming to the Empire, he was apprehensive lest such an Accident should give occasion for some Disorder, and for that reason he set forth a Writing, in which he not only gave notice that the Eclipse was to be, but likewise mark'd the time, and explain'd the manner and causes of it. Those which are generally given are as follow. The Moon makes her course under the Sun, whether she doth it immediately under him, or whether *Mercury* and *Venus* are between them. She moves in Longitude like the Sun, in height perhaps like him too, and in Latitude, which is a way in which he doth not move at all. When the Sun and Moon cast their Beams directly upon the Earth, and the Moon is immediately under the Sun, she hides him from the sight, though unequally in respect of several Countries, Eclipsing a great part to some,
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to others less, and to others very little. But she never hides him from all People at the same time, because the Sun having a light which is proper to it self, and which he borrows from no other Star, he disperses its Beams upon places where the Moon is not, and where she can be no Obstacle to him. So much for the Eclipse of the Sun. If 'tis expected I should say any thing of that of the Moon, since I am engag'd in this Matter, this Star is depriv'd of the light of the Sun, and appears such as it is whenever being opposite to the Sun, which never happens but when it is Full, it meets the shadow of the Earth, which extends it self in form of a Cone. I shall say no more upon this Subject.

While *Messalina* kept *Mneſter* to her self, and the People complain'd that he was taken from the Theatre, *Claudius* solemnly protested that he did not hinder him, and that he receiv'd no manner of Service from him. They who thought he spoke sincerely, were concern'd to see that he was the only Person that was ignorant of the Disorders of his Family, of which his Enemies

had intelligence. Yet they durst not inform him, for fear of displeasing *Messalina*, or ruining *Mneſter*. For he was no leſs agreeable to the People for his excellence in his Art, than he was to *Messalina*, on the account of his well-made Perſon. Some who were at the Theatre, one day having importun'd him to dance, he retir'd, ſaying, ' 'Tis not in my power, becauſe I have lain with *Oreſtes*. The year following, which was the laſt of the eighteenth Age from the foundation of *Rome*, *Claudius* was Conſul for the fourth time, and *Vitellius* for the third. During his Conſulſhip he expell'd ſeveral Senators, among whom there were ſome that ſuffer'd this Affront with ſo much the more moderation, inasmuch as they had not an Eſtate that was neceſſary to ſupport their Dignity. He put ſeveral others in their room, and among the reſt *Surdinius Gallus*, who was retir'd to *Carthage* to avoid this Honour. *Claudius* having ſent for him, ſaid to him; ' I'll keep you here with Chains of Gold. Thus he remain'd as it were fix'd to *Rome*, by this glittering Dignity. Tho' *Claudius* puniſh'd ſeverely the
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the faults which Freedmen committed against their Patrons, he us'd great indulgence towards his own. An Actor having one day said these words in the Theatre, which are very often in People's Mouths, ' There is nothing so Insolent, as a Slave whom Fortune has rais'd, and *Polibius* his Freedman, upon whom the People cast their Eyes, having replied with a loud Voice, that the same Poet had said: ' There are Kings that were formerly Shepherds, the Emperor was not angry, nor did him any kind of hurt. Having receiv'd advice that several had conspir'd against him, he despis'd almost all that were accus'd, saying, ' That a Man should not be reveng'd upon a Flea, as upon a wild Beast, and condemn'd none but *Asiaticus*. Nay even he too was very near being acquitted. For as he persisted in denying the Crime, and declar'd solemnly that he knew none of the Witnesses who had depos'd against him, a Soldier who had accus'd him as one of his Accomplices, was ask'd where he was. The Soldier, who had receiv'd from those who had suborn'd him no other sign to know him

ly, than that he was bald, pointed to another Man, who was bald likewise, which having rais'd great Laughter, *Claudius* believ'd him Innocent, and was desirous to acquit him. But *Virellius* to make his Court to *Messalina*, told him that *Asiaticus* had such a sense of his Guilt, that he had sent to intreat him to get him leave to chuse his Death, upon which *Claudius* made no difficulty of condemning him from a belief, that he had already condemn'd himself. This year near the Island of *Tera*, was discover'd another little Island which had never been seen before. There being several Masters, who instead of taking care of their Slaves when they were sick, put them out of their Houses, *Claudius* made a Law, by which he ordered that such Slaves as should be so put out, and should recover their Healths, should remain free from the power of those inhumane Masters.

Vespasian in the mean time being shut up, and as it were besieg'd in *Great Britain* by the Inhabitants of the Country, and being in danger of perishing, *Titus* his Son disingag'd him by his extraordinary Valour, dispers'd the Enemies,

mies, and slew a great number of them. *Plautius* in this War discharg'd so well the General's Duty, that he was rewarded for it, both by the Praises which he receiv'd from the Emperor's Mouth, and the Honour which he had of entering *Rome* in Triumph.

Cneus Domitius Corbulo having assembled in *Germany* the Troops which he commanded, very much incommoded several People of that Country, and chiefly the *Cauchians*. But as soon as the Emperor heard how vigilant and valiant he was, he recall'd him, lest he should acquire too great a power. He obey'd this Order as unjust as it appear'd to him, and contented himself with expressing his Resentment of it, saying, ' That the Generals of the times
' past were happy, in being able to
' signalize their Vertue without putting
' themselves in danger by exciting Jealousie, whereas I am stopt by that of
' the Emperor in the midst of my Career. Yet he was not depriv'd of the honour of a Triumph, and the Emperor gave him a second time the command of the same Troops, which he kept in continual exercise. But because

he had happily finish'd the War, and would not let his Soldiers be useless in time of Peace, he employ'd them in digging a Canal of 172 Furlongs in length, between the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*, by the means of which, he hop'd to hinder the Sea from making a reflux in those Rivers so far, as to drown the Country.

Messalina not being satisfied with making a publick profession of Incontinence, and having an Apartment in the Palace, where with other Ladies of the first Quality, she abandon'd her self to the most licentious Courses, she would also in spite of the Laws, be suffer'd to have more Husbands than one. Thus she Married *Caius Silius*, solemniz'd the Wedding with great Magnificence, gave her new Spouse a noble Palace, adorn'd with the richest Furniture of the Empire, and to compleat his Grandeur declar'd him Consul. *Claudius* had not the least hint of such an Insolence, which had broke out with the utmost Scandal; but while he was at *Ostia*, giving necessary orders for the provisions of the People, *Messalina* in the mean time making a great Feast in *Rome*,
where

where she staid behind under colour of an Indisposition; *Narcissus* discover'd all to the Emperor, by the means of those young Women that he kept to divert him. He return'd on the instant, put several People to Death, among the rest *Mnester*, and a little after *Messalina*, and Married *Agrippina* his Niece, the Mother of *Domitius Nero*. She was very handsom, often visited the Emperor before their Marriage, entertaining him in private, and taking other liberties with him than Modesty should suffer a Niece to take with her Uncle. She was no sooner rais'd to the Dignity of Empress, but she us'd all her Art and Cunning to govern the Mind of the Emperor her Husband, and to gain either by good Offices, or fear all those whom he lov'd, or in whom he had any confidence. Tho' *Claudius* had Children, she perswaded him to adopt *Nero* her Son, whom she afterwards put under the care of *Seneca*, to learn what a young Prince should know, to be one day capable of Commanding. She likewise laid up inestimable riches for him, putting all ways in practice for this end, without stopping at the

most infamous Methods. There was not a rich Man whom she did not careſs, and cauſ'd ſeveral to be put to Death for their Wealth. She alſo got rid of ſeveral Ladies of the moſt conſiderable Quality, out of Jealouſie. The only Motive ſhe had to procure the Death of *Paulina* was, that ſhe had formerly pretended to marry the Emperor. When her Head was brought to her, and ſhe could not know the Face, ſuch was the Alteration, ſhe open'd her Mouth to ſee her Teeth, which were ſet in a different manner from others. In a word, in very little time ſhe became a ſecond *Meffalina*, having very great Honours paid to her, and was carried in a Litter by Decree of the Senate.

Claudius having adopted *Nero*, as I have ſaid, gave him his Daughter in Marriage. During the Ceremony there was obſerv'd a great Prodigy, for that day the Heavens ſeem'd all on Fire. The Emperor deſir'd to have the Diverſion of a Naval Fight upon a Lake, and having encompaſs'd it with a Wall of Wood, on which Scaffolds were made, there aſſembled a very great concourſe of
Peo-

People. Every body came in what Equipage they lik'd best. *Claudius* and *Nero* appear'd there in Military Habits, and *Agrippina* in a Robe of Tissue. They who were chosen to fight, had been condemn'd to die. They were divided into two Parties, each of which had fifty Ships, and one was call'd *Rhodes*, and t'other *Sicily*. Now they joyn'd and saluted *Claudius* in these Terms. ' We Salute you, My Lord the Emperor, before we die. Not being able to obtain Pardon, and having receiv'd command to Fight, they separated from each other, and fell on when they were constrain'd to do it.

Narcissus manag'd the Stupidity of the Emperor with that freedom, that when the Inhabitants of *Bithynia* made their complaints to him one day of the Misdemeanours *Junius Cilo* had been guilty of in their Country, and said aloud, that he was subject to be corrupted with Money, *Claudius*, whom the great noise had hindred from hearing distinctly, ask'd what they said. Then *Narcissus* making him believe they prais'd the wise Government of *Junius*, he order'd his continuance in that Command

mand for two years longer. *Agrippina* often sat by him when he gave Audience to Ambassadors, which was neither decent nor fitting. He entred one day into so furious a passion against *Gallicus* that was pleading before him, that he order'd him to be thrown into the *Tyber*, which was near the Court.

Domitius Afer, one of the most famous Orators of his Time, made an agreeable piece of Raillery upon that occasion. For the Party whose defence *Gallicus* had abandon'd, having desir'd him to undertake it, 'How do you know said he, that I can Swim better than your first Advocate? *Claudius* having begun to look about him, and to mistrust the Intentions and Conduct of *Agrippina*, ask'd often for *Britannicus* his Son. But she, who passionately desir'd to raise her own Son by *Domitius* to the Throne, found out cunning ways to evade his Demand, and to prevent his seeing him. When she saw that the Emperor had resolv'd to lessen the Power she had usurp'd, and to leave the Succession to his own Son, she was possess'd with fear, and resolv'd to prevent him. But as she could not dis-

dispatch him by an ordinary Poison, because the Wine he drank in great quantity, would hinder its effect, and that besides he us'd such Precautions, as Great Men are accusom'd to for the preservation of their Healths, she sent for a Woman famous for Poisoning, call'd *Locusta*, and ask'd her for a Poison that should have a sudden effect. When she got it, she put it into a Mushroom, then eat other Mushrooms her self, and order'd it so, that *Claudius* eat that which was poison'd, as being the largest and the fairest. Being thus deceiv'd he was carried from the Table, as 'twas the custom when he had drank too much, and perhaps the same pretence was us'd then. Having lost his Speech and Hearing in the Night, he died the 13th day of *October*, aged 63, 8 Months, and 20 Days. He reign'd 13 Years. *Narcissus* was so vigilant and careful of his Master, that if he had been present, *Agrippina* could not have surpriz'd him. But she had sent him by design into *Campania*, under colour of taking the Waters which he had occasion for, to ease him of the pains of the Gout. He was kill'd immediately after his

his Master. He had made himself the most powerful Man of his time, his Riches were esteem'd at above a hundred Millions of Drachma's, and he had made strict Alliances with Kings and foreign Nations. He did a very noble Action before he died, which was to burn all the Letters which *Claudius* had written against *Agrippina*, and other People, which had been deposited with him.

About the time of *Claudius's* Death there happen'd several Prodigies, which seem'd to presage it. A Comet was seen, and it rain'd Blood; the Standards of the Guards were struck with Thunder; the Gate of the Temple of *Jupiter the Conqueror* open'd of its own accord. In a word, there was not a Company among the Guards, but some Officer died out of it. His Funeral was attended with the same Ceremonies, as had been observ'd at that of *Augustus*. *Agrippina* and *Nero* pretended to lament this Prince whom they had kill'd, and to raise him to Heaven after they had poison'd him at Table. *Seneca* made a little discourse upon his Death, under the Title of *Apocolocyntose*,

toſe, which is a term that ſeems to ſignifie, that he became a God by eating Muſhrooms. *Lucius Junius Gallio*, *Seneca's* Brother, ſays ſeveral good things upon the ſame Subjeſt, and this among others, that *Claudius* had been drawn up to Heaven with a Hook. He made an alluſion to the Cuſtom of drawing Bodies that had been executed in Priſon, with a Hook in the Market-place, and afterwards throwing them into the River. *Nero* likewise ſaid a thing which deſerves not to be forgot, which is, ' That Muſhrooms were the Food of the ' Gods, ſince *Claudius* by eating them ' was become a God.

THE

THE
REIGN
OF THE
EMPEROR
NERO.

AFTER the Death of *Claudius*, the Empire according to the Laws belong'd to *Britannicus* his lawful Son, and who besides was of such an Age, Meen, and Vigour, as cou'd be desir'd in a Sovereign. *Nero* had also a Right to it by Adoption. But no Right is so strong as that of Arms. Whosoever has the Power, seems to have the Justice of his side, and let him say or do what he will, the People never fail to find it reasonable.

nable. *Nero* having made himself Master of the Sovereign Power, suppress'd *Claudius's* Will, and easily got rid of *Britannicus*, and his Sisters. And who can sufficiently deplore the Cruelties he practis'd upon several others? He had had presages of his future Grandeur. Upon the day of his Birth, and before the Sun was up, he appear'd encompass'd with Light, and as it were crown'd with Rays. This event, together with the disposition of the Stars at that time, gave an Astrologer occasion to foretel two things of him, one was, that he should come to the Empire, and the other, that he should put his Mother to Death. *Agrippina* was so transported with joy at this Prediction, that she cried out; 'I am not concern'd that he is to kill me, provided he Reigns. But she had afterwards occasion to repent of that Expression. There are some Persons that fall into such an excess of Folly, that when there is a good propos'd to them, joyn'd with an ill, the desire of one, makes them forget the fear of the other. But when the ill comes which they despis'd, they regret their having wish'd for the good they have enjoy'd.

Domi-

Domitius the Father of *Nero* foretold his Vices and Irregularities, not thro' any knowledge of Judicial Astrology, but thro' consideration of his Wife and himself. 'It is impossible, says he, 'that a Child begot between *Agrippina* and my self, should ever prove a good Man. Afterwards they found the skin of a Serpent round the Neck of *Nero*, which made the *Augurs* judge, that he would receive great benefits from an old Man. For 'tis thought that when Serpents cast their Skins, they likewise cast their old Age. *Nero* was but seventeen years old when he came to the Empire. He went immediately to the Camp, where having read a Discourse which *Seneca* had compos'd, he promis'd the Soldiers the same Largesses which *Claudius* had given them at his accession to the Empire. He afterwards read in the Senate another Discourse compos'd likewise by *Seneca*, which made so strong an impression upon their Minds, that 'twas order'd to be engrav'd upon a Pillar of Silver, and read every year upon the day when the Consuls enter upon their Offices. 'Twas the Model of a Wise and Just Administration,

nistration, which they had a mind should be held continually before the eyes of the Prince.

Agrippina at first discharg'd all the Functions of Government. She always appear'd in publick with *Nero*. They often went out in the same Chair, and sometimes she was in't alone, and *Nero* walkt after. She gave Audience to Ambassadors, and wrote to Nations and Kings. She maintain'd her self a good while in this possession, till *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, the two ablest and most powerful of *Nero's* Ministers were weary of suffering it. These two extraordinary Men, whereof one was Captain of the Guards, and the other the Emperor's *Preceptor*, chang'd this Custom upon the following occasion. As *Nero* was upon his Throne, giving Audience to the Ambassadors of the *Armenians*, *Agrippina* entred, and advanc'd as if she intended to sit by him. But he prevented her by the advice of those two Great Men, and descended from his Throne, as 'twere to receive her. He did not ascend it again afterwards, for fear his Mother should come and sit by him, and the Strangers should be Witnesses of that

that weakness of Government, and shame of the Empire. *Burrhus* and *Seneca* soon after found means wholly to deprive *Agrippina* of the management of Affairs, and to take it upon themselves. They manag'd it as long as 'twas in their power, with all the Capacity and Justice that could be desir'd. For as *Nero* had no great inclination to Business, they suffer'd him to follow his Pleasures, believing his Debaucheries would bring no great prejudice to the State, and that he would soon come to be disgusted with them, and so renounce them of his own accord. A strange Maxim for such wise Men, who did not consider that Pleasures would much sooner corrupt a young Man brought up in Delicacy and Liberty, than reform him by tiring him, and letting him know by Experience the vanity and weakness of them.

Nero at the beginning made Feasts; and gave himself up to Wine and Women. But when he saw that nobody restrain'd him, and that the State was not the worse govern'd; he thought he might deserve praise, and abandon himself wholly to them. He soon after de-

spis'd the wise Advice of his Counsel-
 lers, poison'd, as he was, with the flat-
 teries of his Companions in Debauche-
 ry, who were continually sounding in
 his Ears, ' Can you endure to be treat-
 ' ed in this manner? Are you afraid
 ' of them? Are you not Emperor?
 ' Don't you know that you have an
 ' absolute power over them, and that
 ' they have none over you? In a word,
 he was asham'd of living in dependance
 upon his Mother, and of being thought
 less knowing and prudent than *Seneca*
 and *Burrhus*. Thus he renounc'd all
 shame, openly despis'd the Remonstran-
 ces of those two excellent Men, and of
 his Mother, and took *Caligula* for the
 Model of his Conduct. He was not
 contented to imitate him, he surpass'd
 him infinitely, as if he had thought it
 consist'd with the Grandeur of an Em-
 peror, not to yield to any body in any
 thing whatsoever, ev'n in the most cri-
 minal and infamous Actions. He was
 guilty of several rash Expences, unjust
 Impositions, and violent Exactions. 'Tis
 certain that he was generous and liberal
 in his Nature, and if there be any oc-
 casion for a proof of it, I'll bring one.

Having

Having order'd *Doriforus*, who kept the Records of the Empire, two hundred and fifty thousand Drachma's, *Agrippina* order'd the Sum to be told, with an opinion, that when *Nero* saw it, he would repent of having given it. But when he saw it, he order'd him as much more, 'saying, I did not think I had 'made so inconsiderable a Present. His Generosity appears yet much more by the greatness of his Expence.

He exhausted the publick Treasure in so small a time, that he was oblig'd to lay new Taxes upon the People, to fleece those who were most at ease, and to put some of them to death for their Estates. From hence may be gather'd a general *Idea* of the Mind and Manners of *Nero*. But if I must descend to Particulars, he had so furious a passion for the Combats of the *Circus*, that to honour some excellent Horses, who had often signaliz'd themselves at the Course, and were grown old, he presented them with long Robes, as he would have done to Men, and ev'n with Money instead of a Pension. This inclination of the Emperor, had made the Grooms and Horse-couriers so Insolent,

lent, that they often fail'd in their respects to the Pretors and Consuls. *Aulus Fabricius* the Pretor, being one day provok'd at their refusing to furnish him with Horses for a certain Match, made use of Dogs in stead of them, that had been bred to the Chariot. Which was the reason that the white and the red retir'd, after which those of the green and the blue Parties not entering the Lists, *Nero* propos'd some Matches, and began the Course.

Agrippina in the mean time felt a very sensible Displeasure, in seeing herself depriv'd of all manner of power in the Palace, and forc'd to give way to *Acta*, a Slave bought in *Asia*, whom the Emperor was fallen desperately in love with. He gave out, that she was descended from the Family of King *Attalus*, and respected her much more than *Octavia* his Wife. *Agrippina* not being able to endure the loss of her Credit, undertook at first to make Remonstrances to *Nero*, then punish'd some of his Favourites, and banish'd others. But when she saw all this was of no use, she let her resentment fly, reproach'd him with his Obligations to her,

her, and told him, 'twas she that had plac'd him on the Throne, as if it had been still in her power to deprive him of it. She spoke to him in such a manner, as if she had not known, that when particular Persons have invested any one with the Sovereign Power, 'tis no longer at their disposal, and he that is possess'd of it, employs it oftentimes against those from whose hands he has receiv'd it.

Nero having dispatch'd *Britannicus* by Poison, and the Body being discolour'd, he contriv'd to have it rubb'd over with a sort of Plaster. But the Rain that fell upon it, while they were carrying it thro' the Market-place, wash'd it off, and expos'd to the Eyes of all the *Romans* a Crime, the noise of which had already struck their Ears.

After this he committed all sorts of Excesses, whether in the Palace or in the open City, where Night and Day he ran about in a disguis'd Habit with the utmost extravagance. He entred into Taverns, and other places of Debauchery, as if he had been a private Man, raising Quarrels, and beating those who offended him. His differences with his

Mother were become so publick, that they were grown the subject of all Conversations. The privacies that pass'd between them, came not to the knowledge of every body ; but People guess'd what they could not be certain of, and the scandal of their Lives, made the most disadvantageous rumours probable, even tho' they might be false. This misunderstanding being the cause that *Agrippina* had no longer any Guards, most People avoided her, and those who could not, pass'd by without taking notice of her.

About this time there was a Combat, in which Men on Horseback fought against Bulls. There was another, in which *Nero's* Guards on Horseback shot with Arrows four hundred Bears, and three hundred Lions. Thirty *Roman* Knights were not allow'd to fight as *Gladiators*. These were the Diversions of *Nero* in publick. But when he disguis'd himself, he cours'd the Streets all Night, violating Women and young Children, robbing Passengers, beating, wounding, and killing. He thought himself unknown, when he committed these Outrages, because at such times he

he wore borrow'd habits and false hair. But he was too well known by his Equipage and Exploits, which no other durst attempt or execute without punishment. No body was safe in his own House, for this furious Prince might enter where he pleas'd. A Senator call'd *Julius Montanus*, not being able to suffer the Violence he offer'd to his Wife, fell upon him, and gave him several blows, the marks of which oblig'd him to hide himself for several Days. Yet *Montanus* receiv'd no hurt for it, and *Nero* had never express'd any resentment if *Montanus* had not writ to him to beg his pardon. But when he had read his Letter, 'Is it possible, he cried, that a Man 'who has struck the Emperor, is yet 'alive?

He gave Sports to the People, and the Theatre being on a sudden fill'd with Sea-Water, Fishes and other Animals were seen swimming there, and then there was a Naval Fight which represented that which formerly happen'd between the *Persians* and *Athenians*. The Water disappearing presently, Men were seen to fight on Foot; here there was one to one, there several to an equal number.

In

In a word, the last Shew was a Combat of Eloquence which ended in the condemnation of several Persons, whereof some were banish'd, and others put to Death. The most important of all those Prosecutions was that of *Seneca*, who was accus'd among other things of having had a scandalous and criminal correspondence with *Agrippina*. The Conduct of this Philosopher, not only in this point, but in several others appear'd to be but little suited to his Maxims. He condemn'd Tyranny, and brought up a Tyrant. He blam'd Courtiers, and never left the Court. He despis'd Flatterers, and flatter'd Princesses and Freedmen so far as to write in their Praise. He declaim'd against great Riches, and was possess'd of seventeen Millions five hundred thousand Drachma's. He Preach'd against Luxury, and had five hundred Tables of Cedar upon frames of Ivory, all of equal fineness, on which he made delicious Repasts. The excess of this expence and vanity, may give room to judge of the rest of his irregularities. He made an illustrious alliance by marrying a Woman of Quality, and yet was fond of Boys, and engag'd

Nero

Nero in that infamous practice, tho' he had formerly affected to shew so great a severity in his way of living, that he had beg'd of him not to embrace him any more, or invite him to eat with him. *Otho* had so perfect a conformity of Manners, and so strict a Society with *Nero* in his excesses, that he said to him one Day, 'I resemble you so much, that you'll see me Emperor. *Nero* was not offended at the liberty he took, and only said, I shall not so much as see you Consul. He took a Lady of Quality away from her Husband call'd *Sabina*, in order to give her to this *Otho*, and when he had so done, they enjoy'd her between them.

Agrippina hearing that *Nero* was passionately in love with her, and fearing lest he should have a mind to marry her, resolv'd upon a horrid piece of Wickedness. For not considering that she had formerly prejudic'd her own reputation as much, when she employ'd her Charms to insnare *Claudius* her Uncle, she did now likewise essay as much to captivate her Son and to put him in the same Chains, under which that miserable old Man had groan'd. I don't report this as
a thing

a thing certain, and I know not whether the resemblance there seem'd to be between the inclinations of Mother and Son, did not give rise to such a belief. But there was another thing which all the World agreed in, which was, that *Nero* lov'd a Woman that was extreamly like *Agrippina*, and when he caress'd her and diverted himself with her, he told his Friends pointing to her, 'That he 'had lain with his Mother. These things were no sooner come to the knowledge of *Sabina*, but she perswad-ed *Nero* to dispatch *Agrippina*, under a pretence that she had determin'd his Ruine. Several Persons worthy of Credit accuse *Seneca* too of having advis'd this Parricide, whether 'twas that he pretended to justify himself by this means, or that he design'd to precipitate *Nero* into so detestable a Crime, as might make him become at once an object of Horror and Execration both to Gods and Men. They durst not openly commit so horrid and so impious a Murder. They could not do it secretly by Poison, because *Agrippina* was continually upon her Guard. Having observ'd at the Sports a Vessel that open'd of it self

self to let out Beasts and shut again,
 and appear'd whole in a moment, they
 contriv'd such a one, and when it was
 finish'd, *Nero* began to flatter and caress
Agrippina more than ordinarily, that she
 might not mistrust his design. He would
 not put it in execution at *Rome* to avoid
 the discourse of the People, but went
 into *Campania*, and took *Agrippina* his
 Mother with him in the Vessel, which
 he had adorn'd with all possible Magni-
 ficence, to the end, that she might have
 a desire to use it sooner than any other.
 When he was arriv'd at *Balli*, he made
 splendid Entertainments for several
 Days, in which he gave his Mother all
 possible marks of affection and tender-
 ness. When she was absent for a mo-
 ment, he shew'd an impatience for her
 return, and when she was present, he
 was never tir'd with looking on her and
 embracing her. He intreated her to ask
 of him whatsoever she had a mind to,
 and granted her favours which she ne-
 ver thought to ask. After Supper about
 Midnight, he embrac'd her very close,
 and kissing her Eyes and Hands said to
 her; Mother, 'I beg you to take care
 'of your Health for my sake, who
 ' would

‘ would not live but for you, since ‘tis
 ‘ from you I have receiv’d both Life and
 ‘ Empire.

After these obliging and tender words, he bid *Anicetus* his Freed-man, Conduct her towards her Palace in the Vessel she was so much pleas’d with, which had been made for her destruction. But it seems the Sea refus’d to be the Scene of so bloody a Tragedy, and an accomplice in so black a treachery, and so detestable an impiety. The Vessel open’d and *Agrippina* fell into the Sea. But spite of the darkness of the Night, and the ill condition she was in by having eat and drunk to excess, She was sav’d, notwithstanding all the Efforts the Mariners made to knock her on the Head with their Oars, as they actually serv’d *Aceronia Pollia*, who was hard by her. When she came home, she made as if she knew nothing of the trap that had been laid for her, and instead of making her Complaints, she sent to acquaint *Nero* with the Accident, as if it had happen’d by chance, and to let him know that she had fortunately escap’d. *Nero* was so transported with anger when he receiv’d the News, that he order’d him
 that

that brought it to be put to Death, as if he had design'd to assassinate him. Then he sent *Anicetus* and his Mariners to kill his Mother, whom he durst not suffer the Soldiers of his Guards to dispatch, because he did not confide in them enough to charge them with an affair of this importance. When *Agrippina* saw them, she did not doubt the occasion on which they came, and throwing herself from her Bed, she tore her Gown, and opening her Breast said, ' Strike *Anicetus*, strike the Breast that gave suck ' to *Nero*.

Thus was *Agrippina* Daughter of *Germanicus*, Grand-Daughter of *Agrippa*, and great Grand-Child of *Augustus*, put to Death by the command of *Nero* her Son, to whom she had given the Empire, and for whose sake she had destroy'd her Uncle *Claudius*, and abundance of other Persons. When the News was brought to *Nero* that she was Dead, he could not believe it, so incredible did the enormity of his crime make it seem to him. Thereupon he would needs be a Witness of it, see her quite Naked with his own Eyes, and examine her wounds. As he was looking

ing thus upon her, he utter'd words more impious still than the Murder it self. I did not know, said he, that my Mother had so delicate a body.

After this he made great presents to his Guards, to engage them to be always ready for such Executions. He likewise wrote a Letter to the Senate, in which after he had charg'd her with divers crimes, he accus'd her of having conspir'd against him, and of causing her own Death, when she found that her Plot was discover'd.

As for him, he was in such disorder and confusion a-nights, that he could not sleep, but was oblig'd to leap out of bed by starts. He was also tormented in the day-time with a Noise, which seem'd to come from the place where *Agrippina's* body was interr'd, and had somewhat Martial and terrible in it like the sound of Trumpets. If he remov'd to be at a distance from it, it follow'd and persecuted him where-ever he went. As troublesome and disagreeable as all these things were, the *Romans* rejoic'd at them when they consider'd that they might be Presages of those misfortunes that were suddenly to overwhelm *Nero*.

As for the Senators, they seem'd to approve his usage of his Mother, and made decrees to congratulate him publicly for the Success of so damnable an Enterprize. No body but *Thrasea Petus*, was incapable of so vile a complaisance. He was in the Senate when *Nero's* Letter was read there, but he went out before they came to examine it, because in so bad a time as that, there was no liberty of Speech, and he had too much Honour to vote with the Multitude. He carried himself in this manner upon all occasions. He was us'd to say, 'If *Nero* was only to put me to Death, I could
'pardon those who have no other Employment than by their flatteries to
'keep up his cruel Passions. But since
'he spares not those who are eager to
'give him the most extravagant and unjust Commendations, what reason is
'there for choosing rather to dye in a
'shameful servitude, than to keep ones
'Liberty to the last moment of Life?
'Posterity perhaps will speak to my advantage, but if it speaks of them,
'twill be only to say they were kill'd.
'He often said, *Nero* has power to put
'me to Death, but he can never hurt

‘ my Reputation. When this Prince return’d to *Rome* after he had kill’d his Mother, the greatest part of the Citizens publicly paid him very great Honours. But they who were in places where they could freely declare their sentiments, were as free of their invectives against him. Some in the Night-time tied a Sack to his Statue, as a mark that he deserv’d to be put into a Sack and thrown to the bottom of the Sea. Others expos’d a Child in the Market-place with a Writing fix’d to it, in which were these words: ‘ I will not bring thee up, least thou shouldst kill thy Mother. In several Places the following words were written, *Nero*, *Orestes* and *Alcmaion* Matricides. ’Twas a common thing to hear People say, *Nero* has kill’d his Mother, and they were sometimes accus’d, not with an intention to ruine them, but to reproach *Nero* with his crime. He receiv’d no depositions upon this Subject, whether ’twas that he fear’d to increase a rumour so prejudicial to his reputation, or that he had resolv’d to despise it.

There

There happen'd so great an Eclipse of the Sun in the midst of the Sacrifices that were made by decree of the Senate for the Death of *Agrippina*, that the Stars were seen. Yet further, the Elephants that drew *Augustus's* Carriot entering into the *Circus*, stopt at the place where the Senators were sitting. There happen'd another Prodigy more terrible, which is, that Thunder fell upon *Nero's* Supper, and so entirely consum'd it, that *Harpys* themselves could not have left a clearer Table. *Nero* dispatch'd *Domitia* his Grand-Mother by Poison, and having thereby made himself Master of her Lands at *Baia*, and along the Sea of *Ravenna*, he erected stately Trophies there, which are to be seen at this Day. He gave Shews for several Days together in five or six Theatres, in Honour of his Mother. An Elephant was seen there that mounted to the top of the Theatre with a Man upon his back, and came down upon a Rope. But there was nothing so irksome and so infamous together, as to see Men and Women not only of the Order of Knights, but also of that of Senators, expose themselves upon the Theatre and

in the *Circus*, like Persons of the lowest condition. There was some of them that play'd upon the Flute, and the Harp, others that danc'd, and acted in Tragedies and Comedies. There were others that drove Chariots, whether by choice or force I know not, fought with Beasts, and against one another. Then were those great Names of the *Furii*, the *Fabii*, the *Porcia's*, and the *Valeria's*, who had formerly erected Trophies and Temples that subsist to this day, dishonour'd by Employments, to which the meanest of the People had never descended. They were pointed at as they were seen. The *Macedonians* said, Behold the Grandson of *Paulus*. The *Greeks* said, see there the Grandson of *Memmius*. Observe *Claudius*, said the *Sicilians*, and *Appius* said those of *Epire*. The Natives of *Asia* pointed to *Lucius*, the *Spaniards* to *Publius*, the *Africans* to *Scipio*, and the *Romans* to them all together.

Thus did *Nero* dishonour the most illustrious Families, he that should have dishonour'd himself more than all the rest. All Men of Sense groan'd under these Disorders, and regretted the prodigious

digious expences the Emperor was at
 to satisfy his Vanity. He threw Bil-
 lets among the People, in which was writ
 down every thing that was most exqui-
 site and rare, delicious Meats, Furni-
 ture, Habits, Horses, Gold and Silver,
 and he that got the Billet, upon return-
 ing it receiv'd what was contain'd in it. If
 the Emperor, ' say they to themselves,
 ' lavishes such immense Riches upon
 ' occasions, from whence he can expect
 ' nothing but Confusion, is there any
 ' reason to believe that he'll abstain from
 ' the most cruel, and violent Actions,
 ' when he has any prospect of advan-
 ' tage by them? The *Augurs* having
 observ'd some Prodigies, declar'd to *Ne-
 ro*, that they were signs of his Death,
 and advis'd him to divert this Misfor-
 tune, and to throw it upon others. He
 was very near following their cruel
 Counsel, and shedding the Blood of se-
 veral Persons, if *Seneca* had not hin-
 dred him by saying to him: Dispatch
 as many as you will, you can never
 kill your Successor. Then he celebra-
 ted a Feast by way of Thanksgiving for
 his preservation, and dedicated the Mar-
 ket-place, where Victuals were expos'd
 to Sale.

Afterwards he invented a new Feast, under the name of *Juvenalia*, celebrated on the occasion of his Beard, which was first shav'd about this time. He put the Hairs into a Golden Box, and consecrated them to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. There was an extraordinary concourse of People at this Feast, and Persons of the first Quality assisted at it. A Lady very considerable for her Birth and Riches call'd *Elia Catula*, appear'd there with others, and even danc'd among the rest, though she was fourscore years of Age. These, whom Age, or Infirmities made incapable of other Exercises, sung Songs that were set to Dances, for there was no body that did not contribute to the celebration of the Feast. The most considerable Persons, Men, Women, Children and old Men went to Schools for this purpose, where they taught several Exercises. The greatest part of the People of Quality were mask'd for fear of being known, but *Nero* pull'd off their Vizards at the request of the People, and expos'd them to the railery of those, from whom a little before they had receiv'd respect in the execution of their Employments. These
cruel

cruel Outrages made them envy the happiness of those who had died the same year, and had been stoned by the Soldiers, upon pretence that they had conspir'd against the Emperor. But to compleat these infamous Diversions, *Nero* ascended the Stage himself, after he had been call'd aloud by *Gallio*. He appear'd there in the person of a Player upon the Harp. This Master of the Universe was not ashamed to say to the People, 'I beg of you, My Lords, to hear me favourably. Then he sung the Fable of *Acis* and the *Bacchantes* in the presence of a multitude of Soldiers, and as great a number of People as the places could contain. But he sung it with so low and weak a Voice, that all those who heard him, were as much dispos'd to Weep as to Laugh. *Burrhus* and *Seneca* stood near him, like two Masters that were to shew him his Lesson. They lifted up their Hands to applaud him, and encourag'd others to do the same. Five thousand Soldiers firnam'd the Imperialists, were prepar'd for this purpose, who began to make Acclamations in his Praise. Then all the rest of the Spectators were oblig'd

to answer them by the like Applauses. *Thrasea* was the only Person that could not be brought over to approve of such base Flatteries. All the rest, and chiefly those of the first Rank, and the most considerable People repeated as loud as they could, tho' with regret, all that the Imperialists had pronounc'd in the praise of *Nero*. They were heard to say with a distinct Voice, ' You are incomparable, *Cæsar*, you are *Augustus*, ' you are *Apollo*, you are *Pythicus*. There is no body, *Cæsar*, that can overcome you.

When the Sports were ended, he gave the People a Feast in Ships, and in the same place where *Augustus* had formerly fought a Battel, and at Midnight pass'd from thence to the *Tyber*, thro' a Canal that had been made for that purpose. After he had made these publick Rejoycings upon the occasion of his first Beard, he instituted Combats that were to be renew'd every five years, for the continuance of his Life and Reign, and gave them his own Name. He built a place to exercise Wrestlers, at the Dedication of which, he distributed Oyl to the Knights and
Sena-

Senators. He carried the Crown from the Singers, and Players upon the Harp, though he gain'd not the Victory. From this time the Crowns of all Combats were brought to him, as if he only had deserv'd them all by the excellency of his Singing, and his dexterity in touching the Harp.

Whilst *Rome* was employ'd at these Diversions, there fell out an unexpected misfortune in *Great Britain*. Two Cities were taken there, eight thousand Men, *Romans* and Confederates were cut in pieces, and the whole Island revolted from the Empire. This loss appear'd so much the more disgraceful, as it had been occasion'd by a Woman. It seems the Gods had given information of it to Men, by very sensible Signs. There was heard during the Night in the place where the Senate assembles, a confus'd Noise, like that which several People make when they laugh together; and again there was heard in the Theatre another Noise like that of Lamentations and Groans, tho' there was no body there that spoke the least word, or so much as breath'd. Yet further, there was no appear-

appearance of Houses in the midst of the *Thames*, and the *Chanel* that separates this Island from *Gaul*, seem'd of the colour of Blood. The Registering the Estates of the most considerable Inhabitants, from which the Emperor *Claudius* had formerly exempted them, and which *Decian*, who had been sent into that Island in the quality of Imperial Advocate, was for reviving, was that which serv'd as a pretence and occasion to take up Arms. The violent prosecutions which *Seneca* made to be reimburs'd ten Millions of Drachmā's, which he had in a manner forc'd them to borrow of him at Interest, contributed to the Insurrection. But 'twas chiefly *Bonduca*, a Princess descended from the Race of several Kings, who had a Courage beyond her Sex, and a mortal Hatred for the *Romans*, that excited them to War.

She rais'd her self an Army of a hundred and twenty thousand Men, and mounted upon a Throne made of Turf, after the manner of the *Romans*, to make a Speech to them. She had an advantageous Stature, a Majestick Air, a severe Look, a masculine Voice, white
Hair,

Hair, which fell down upon her Shoulders to the bottom of her Back. She wore a Chain of Gold, a Tunick of several Colours, all in folds, and over it a Vest of coarse Stuff. She held a Launce in her Hand, to appear more Terrible. Being in this Equipage, she spoke to them in these terms.

‘ You have learnt by your own experience, how much Liberty is to be
 ‘ preferr’d to Servitude, insomuch, that
 ‘ if there were some among you who
 ‘ thro’ an incapacity of making a good
 ‘ Choice, had formerly suffer’d themselves to be surpriz’d by the false promises of the *Romans*, they would at
 ‘ this time acknowledge the fault they
 ‘ had committed, in renouncing the Government of their Country, to submit to a foreign Authority. There
 ‘ is no body then among you, who is
 ‘ not sensible how much more advantageous it is to remain free tho’ Poor,
 ‘ than to be Rich, and at the same time
 ‘ to fall under the power of another.
 ‘ What usage, how shameful, and how
 ‘ cruel, have you not undergone since
 ‘ these Strangers came into *Great Britain*: Have we not been depopulated of
 ‘ our

‘ our best Estates, and forc’d to pay
 ‘ them Tribute out of the remainder?
 ‘ Is it not for them that we are oblig’d
 ‘ to till the Ground, and to labour,
 ‘ and don’t they constrain us every year
 ‘ to give them up some of our Children
 ‘ for Tribute; and were it not better
 ‘ to have sold our selves at once, than
 ‘ to remain always Tributary? Were it
 ‘ not more supportable to be once car-
 ‘ ried away by an effect of the cruelty
 ‘ of our Enemies, than to live only to
 ‘ give them continual marks of our De-
 ‘ pendance. But why should I menti-
 ‘ on the Impositions they lay upon us
 ‘ during our Lives, since we are not
 ‘ exempt from them at our Deaths?
 ‘ Don’t you feel the weight of that Im-
 ‘ post, which they compel you to pay
 ‘ for those who have paid to nature the
 ‘ last Tribute which all Mankind owes
 ‘ her? There is no Country where the
 ‘ Slaves are not freed at the end of
 ‘ their Lives, from the power of their
 ‘ Masters. The *Romans* alone have
 ‘ found the secret of restoring Life in
 ‘ some measure, to those who have lost
 ‘ it, in order to exact from them still
 ‘ wherewithal to satisfy their Avarice.
 ‘ But

‘ But if we have no Money, as how
 ‘ should we have any, and where can
 ‘ we get it, we are left as naked as
 ‘ those who are Murder’d. Is there any
 ‘ prospect of better usage for the future,
 ‘ when they treated us with so much
 ‘ cruelty at first, though there is no
 ‘ body that doth not caress and endeavour
 ‘ to appease the most Savage
 ‘ Beasts, when they are first taken? If
 ‘ we are not willing to disguise the truth,
 ‘ we must frankly own, that we are
 ‘ our selves the cause of the mischiefs
 ‘ we sustain, since we have suffer’d these
 ‘ Strangers to land upon our Coast, in
 ‘ stead of driving them away, as our
 ‘ Ancestors heretofore drove *Julius Cæ-*
 ‘ *sar*, or in stead of making them afraid
 ‘ to pass over to us, as our Predecessors
 ‘ made *Caligula* and *Augustus*.

‘ We are despis’d and trampled under
 ‘ foot, by People who are only fit
 ‘ to usurp what belongs to others, and
 ‘ to rise upon their Ruines; We who
 ‘ possess an Island of such a vast extent,
 ‘ or rather a *Terra firma*, water’d
 ‘ with the Ocean, and so divided from
 ‘ the rest of the World, that it seems
 ‘ to be under another Climate, and another

‘ nother Sun, and which the most learn-
 ‘ ed Foreigners never heard of.

‘ But if, my dear Friends, Citizens,
 ‘ and Kinsmen, for I can call you so,
 ‘ since we inhabit the same Country,
 ‘ and bear the same Name, if, I say,
 ‘ we have not hitherto done our Duty
 ‘ towards the preserving our Liberty,
 ‘ let us attempt to recover it, and leave
 ‘ it to our Posterity. What will they
 ‘ do who shall be bred up in Slavery,
 ‘ if we are capable of forgetting the
 ‘ happy condition to which we were
 ‘ formerly accusom’d? I don’t say this
 ‘ with a design to make you distast
 ‘ your present condition, which cannot
 ‘ be otherwise than disagreeable to you,
 ‘ nor with a design to make you fear
 ‘ what’s to come, which you cannot
 ‘ apprehend more than you do, but I
 ‘ say it in order to give you those Thanks
 ‘ and Praises, which the Disposition you
 ‘ seem to be in of being willing to as-
 ‘ sist me and your selves, and not to fear
 ‘ the *Roman* Power, deserves. Indeed,
 ‘ what reason have you to fear them,
 ‘ since they surpass you neither in Num-
 ‘ ber nor Vallour? You are arm’d with
 ‘ Helmets and Coats of Mail, defended
 ‘ with

' with Walls, and Ramparts that you
 ' might not be expos'd to their Irrup-
 ' tions. For they will rather endeavour
 ' to surprize you, by making unex-
 ' pected Incurfions upon you, than dare
 ' to approach and fight you hand to
 ' hand, according to your Custom.
 ' You furpass them so much in Reso-
 ' lution and Courage, that I doubt not
 ' but our Camp is stronger than their
 ' Towns, and our Bucklers more ser-
 ' viceable to us, than all their Arms
 ' together; so that if we get the Vi-
 ' ctory, we'll put them all to the Sword,
 ' whereas if they should break our Ranks,
 ' 'twould be very easie for us to es-
 ' cape. For in a word, if we should
 ' think fit to retire, we have abundance
 ' of Marshes and Mountains, in which
 ' 'twould be impossible for the *Romans*
 ' to find us, or take us. As for them,
 ' they are so oppress'd with the weight
 ' of their Arms, that they can neither
 ' pursue us, nor fly from us, and if
 ' they should fly towards any place
 ' that should be shewn them, they
 ' would be shut up there immediately,
 ' as in a Cage. But the greatest ad-
 ' vantage that we have over them, is,
 ' that

' that they can't like us bear Hunger,
 ' or Thirst, or Cold or Heat. They seek
 ' the shade, and the cover'd places.
 ' They cannot subsist without fine Bread,
 ' Wine and Oyl; whereas we can easi-
 ' ly live without them, every Herb
 ' and Root supplies the want of Bread
 ' to us, every Liquor that of Oyl, Wa-
 ' ter that of Wine, every Tree the want
 ' of House or abode. Besides we are so
 ' well acquainted with the Country,
 ' that every thing favours our Enter-
 ' prize, whereas the *Romans* know it so
 ' little, that every thing incommodes
 ' them. The Rivers that water it are
 ' easier for us to ford, than for them to
 ' pass with Boats. Let us march bold-
 ' ly then against them, and make them
 ' know that they are a parcel of Hares
 ' and Foxes, that have the rashness
 ' to pretend to command Dogs and
 ' Wolves.'

After she had spoke in this manner,
 she let a Hare slip from her, which she
 had conceal'd all this while, from whose
 course she drew a Presage of the Com-
 bat. Which Presage seeming lucky to
 the Army, they made a great shout for
 joy, and *Bonduca* lifting up her Hands
 to

to Heaven said : ‘ I render you most
 ‘ humble thanks, *Adrafta*, and implore
 ‘ your Protection, I that am a Woman
 ‘ implore it of thee a Woman likewise.
 ‘ I that have the advantage of com-
 ‘ manding not Porters of *Egypt* like
 ‘ *Nitocris*, nor Merchants of *Assyria* like
 ‘ *Semiramis*, nor *Romans* like *Messalina*
 ‘ and *Agrippina*, or even *Nero*, who
 ‘ though he has the name of a Man,
 ‘ is in effect but a Woman, since he
 ‘ Sings, plays upon the Harp, and dres-
 ‘ ses himself like those of that Sex. I
 ‘ command, I say, no such People, but
 ‘ Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, who are
 ‘ perfectly skill’d not in the way of Hus-
 ‘ bandry, nor in the exercise of mean
 ‘ Trades, but in the Art of War, and
 ‘ who hold all they have in common,
 ‘ even to their Children and Women,
 ‘ who for this very reason take a pride
 ‘ in the profession of the same Vertues,
 ‘ which the Men practise. Having the
 ‘ Honour to command such People as
 ‘ these, I ask of thee for them Victory,
 ‘ Safety, and Liberty against Unjust, Vio-
 ‘ lent, Sacrilegious and Impious Men.
 ‘ But why do I say Men, ought I to call
 ‘ our Enemies by that Name, a People, who

A a

‘ bath

‘ bath themselves in hot Water, who eat
 ‘ Exquisitely, who drink Deliciously, co-
 ‘ vering themselves with Perfumes, lying
 ‘ upon Beds with young Boys, and o-
 ‘ beying a wretched Singer, and infam-
 ‘ ous Player upon the Harp. As for
 ‘ us, we will no longer obey *Neronia*
 ‘ *Domitia*, let the *Romans* obey her, they
 ‘ deserve to obey this Woman, since
 ‘ they have been base enough to live
 ‘ so long under her Tyrannical Govern-
 ‘ ment. In the mean time, Great
 ‘ Queen, I intreat you to be always fa-
 ‘ vourable to us.

When *Bonduca* had ended this Prayer,
 she led her Army against the *Romans*,
 who were then without a General, be-
 cause *Paulinus* was employ’d at *Mona*,
 a little Island in the Neighbourhood of
Great Britain. For which reason ’twas
 less difficult for her to take two Towns
 which the *Romans* were possess’d of, to
 abandon them to Pillage, to destroy
 every thing with Fire and Sword, and
 to exercise the most horrid Cruelties
 imaginable. But nothing was so Horri-
 ble, as what she made some Ladies un-
 dergoe, that were illustrious in Birth
 and Vertue. They were stript stark
 naked,

naked, and hang'd up in this condition, then their Breasts were cut off, and sow'd to their Mouths, that they might seem to eat them. After which their Bodies were stuck full of Splinters. The Inhabitants committed these barbarous Inhumanities at the very time of their Sacrifices, when they made Feasts in their Temples, and principally in the Woods consecrated to Victory, to which they paid a particular Worship.

Paulinus no sooner receiv'd the News of this loss, but he departed from the Isle of *Mona*, which he had already reduc'd, and repass'd into *Great Britain*. He had no ambition to fight the *Barbarians*, whose Numbers and Despair he fear'd, and he could have wish'd for a more favourable occasion to attack them. But the scarcity of Provisions, and the presence of the Enemies, oblig'd him to hazard a Battel against his Inclination. *Bonduca* was in a Chariot at the Head of two hundred and thirty thousand Men, which she put in order of Battel. *Paulinus*, whose Numbers would not allow him to extend his Squadrons to front those of the *Barbarians*, and who durst not let his Army en-

gage all together in the same place, for
 fear of being surrounded, divided it in-
 to three Bodies, whose Ranks he or-
 der'd as close as 'twas possible for him.
 After he had drawn them up in Batta-
 lia, he encourag'd them with these
 words. ' Courage, my Companions ,
 ' Courage, *Romans*, shew these Wretch-
 ' es how much you surpass them in
 ' Valour, even at a time when Fortune
 ' seems to be most averſe. 'Twould be
 ' scandalous for us now to lose by our
 ' backwardness, the fruits of our Con-
 ' quests. We have often overcome E-
 ' nemies that surpass'd us in Number,
 ' and our Ancestors have often got the
 ' same advantage. Fear not the Mul-
 ' titude, nor the Insurrection of these
 ' People who have neither Arms nor
 ' Discipline, and who guide themselves
 ' by a blind Temerity. Nor let it move
 ' you, that they have burnt two Cities,
 ' since they have not taken them by
 ' force, one being possess'd by Stratagem,
 ' and the other being abandon'd. Re-
 ' venge these two Affronts in such a
 ' manner, that they may acknowledge
 ' by sensible Effects, how distant their
 ' Valour is from that of those whom
 they

' they have had the insolence to insult.
 ' After having spoke thus to one Body,
 ' he pass'd to another, and said to
 ' them, Behold the time, my Compa-
 ' nions, to shew your Resolution, and
 ' Courage. This is the Day, in which
 ' you ought to behave your selves so, as
 ' to repair all your Losses. When you
 ' have defeated these People, there will
 ' be none left that dare sustain your pre-
 ' sence. If you gain the Victory, 'twill
 ' secure the Conquest you have made
 ' in this Country, and forward those
 ' which are yet to make. It will put
 ' you in a Posture, that will make your
 ' Companions envy your Happiness, and
 ' your Enemies fear your Power. It
 ' depends only on you either to keep
 ' or lose the Empire, which your An-
 ' cestors have acquir'd over Nations for
 ' you, and that which you have got
 ' your selves, and by losing it, to fall
 ' into the utmost Misery. Choose then
 ' either to command, and live in
 ' Plenty and Peace, or to serve and be
 ' press'd by necessity, and overwhelm'd
 ' in all kinds of Misfortunes. He had
 ' no sooner finish'd this Discourse, but
 ' he pass'd to the third Body, and spoke

‘ to that as follows. You have heard
 ‘ what Disaster these wretches have
 ‘ made us suffer, and you have been
 ‘ Eye-witnesses of some of them, so
 ‘ that it depends only on you, either
 ‘ to expose your selves to the same a-
 ‘ gain, and to lose the Command of
 ‘ this Country, or to revenge the Deaths
 ‘ of your Companions, by gaining the
 ‘ Victory, and to give all People a fa-
 ‘ mous Example, that should instruct
 ‘ them what Obedience is due to our
 ‘ Empire, and the rigour you exercise
 ‘ against Rebels. I have reason to
 ‘ hope you’ll be Victorious, and I ground
 ‘ this Hope both upon the protection of
 ‘ the Gods, who for the most part favour
 ‘ those who are wrong’d, and upon the
 ‘ knowledge I have of the *Roman Ver-*
 ‘ tue, which has triumph’d over the
 ‘ World, and in a word, upon the qua-
 ‘ lity of our Enemies, who are but
 ‘ Slaves, to whom we had been so gra-
 ‘ cious, as to suffer them to live in free-
 ‘ dom according to their Laws. If it
 ‘ should so happen that we receive any
 ‘ Disgrace, ’twere still better to die with
 ‘ Arms in our Hands, than let our selves
 ‘ be taken to be torn in pieces, impal’d,
 ‘ and

‘ and burnt, and to suffer all that the
 ‘ rage of the most Savage Beasts could
 ‘ make us feel. Then whether we remain
 ‘ Masters of the Field, or find our
 ‘ Graves in it, *Great Britain* will be an
 ‘ Eternal Monument of our Valour.
 ‘ For though in this last case the other
 ‘ *Romans* would be depriv’d of this Island,
 ‘ yet we should not fail to keep pos-
 ‘ session of it by some part of our
 ‘ selves.

Having spoke, he order’d them to
 sound the Charge. The *Barbarians* made
 a great shout, and sung Songs full of
 threatnings. The *Romans* on the con-
 trary were silent, and march’d in good
 order till they were come within Bow-
 shot. But then falling briskly upon the
 Enemy, they broke their Ranks. Ne-
 vertheless the *Barbarians* having en-
 compass’d the *Romans* by their Num-
 bers, the Fight was very obstinate in
 different Manners. Those who were
 lightly Arm’d, fought against such as
 were lightly Arm’d. The heavy Arms,
 against heavy Arms, and the Horse a-
 gainst other Horse. The Chariots of
 the *Barbarians* were oppos’d by the *Ro-*
man Archers. The violence of their

A a 4 Chari-

Chariots was not to be withstood, but the Darts which the *Romans* shot at those who guided them, oblig'd them to recoil, because having no Armor, they knew not how to avoid them. Here the Horse was too hard for the Foot, and there the Foot for the Horse. Here a Body was sent to oppose the Chariots, and another Body was dispers'd by the same Chariots. Some pursued the Archers, and others fled from them. All that I have represented, was done at the same time in three several places, with an equal Boldness and Vigour. But at length when the Battle had been long doubtful, the *Romans* had the Advantage, and kill'd a great number of their Enemies in the heat of the Fray, amidst the Baggage, and in the Woods, and took a multitude of Prisoners. Several escap'd, who endeavour'd to rally, in hopes of engaging a second time; but *Bonduca* dying of a fit of Sickness in the interim, they made great lamentations for her, buried her Magnificently, and dispers'd themselves, acknowledging, that by her Death they were truly and effectually overcome. This was the event of the War in *Great Britain*. In

In the mean time *Nero* put away his Wife *Octavia* at *Rome*, in favour of his Mistress *Sabina*, and afterwards put her to Death, what effort soever *Burrhus* made to divert him from it, and notwithstanding the liberty he took to say to him, ‘ If you are resolv’d to put her away, give her back the Empire which she brought you as a Portion. This *Burrhus* was wont to speak to him with so much freedom, that *Nero* having ask’d his opinion one day about something they had talk’d of before, he replied, I beg of you not to mention those matters to me any more, upon which I have once declar’d to you my Sentiments. Thereupon *Nero* dispatch’d him by Poison, and made *Tigillinus Sophronius*, the most profligate Debauchee of his Age, and another, Captains of his Guards. ’Twas to this *Tigillinus Pithiade* had the courage to say a thing that has been retain’d as a remarkable Saying. At the time when all the Domesticks of *Octavia* seeing her in Disgrace, bore evidence against her out of complaisance to *Sabina*, who was in great favour, *Pithiade* was the only one among them, that would not be wrought

wrought upon to depose falsely against her, spite of all the rigour that was us'd to constrain her to it, and in the midst of her Torments, flew in the face of *Tigillinus*, saying, ' There is no part of ' my Mistresse's Body, that is not sweet- ' er than your Mouth. *Nero* did nothing but laugh at the disgrace of these Women. When the Head of *Plutus*, whom he had order'd to be put to Death, was brought to him, he said: ' I did not know that he had so large ' a Nose, meaning by it, without doubt, ' that if he had known it, he would ' not have put him to Death. Though he pass'd almost all his time in Taverns, yet those Houses were forbid to sell any thing but Greens and Herbs. He condemn'd *Pallas* to die for no other Crime, but because he was worth a hundred Millions of Drachma's. This *Pallas* was of a humour so splenatick and chagrin, that forbearing to speak altogether either to his Servants or others, he only explain'd himself by Writing.

Nero had so little regard to Decency, that he was not ashamed to drive Chariots before all the People. One day after he had entertain'd the People with

with Combats of wild Beasts in the *Amphitheatre*, he fill'd it of a sudden with Water, and presented them with a Naval Fight. Then the Water was let out as suddenly to make way for a Fight of Gladiators, and at last other Water was let in in order to a magnificent Feast that was prepar'd on board of Ships. *Tigillinus* had taken care to prepare it, and had spar'd no cost upon this occasion. Several Vessels were set upon the Water, with planks nail'd upon them; and over them were erected Taverns and Inns all round. *Nero* was in the midst of them, sitting upon Purple Cushions with *Tigillinus* and his Favourites. The rest of the Assembly was in the Taverns, where every one diverted himself as he thought fit. Women of Birth and Beauty expos'd themselves publickly without any reserve. There was a mixture of Slaves, and free People, young Girls and married Women, that every body enjoy'd as he pleas'd, there being none among them that refus'd any thing to any body. Never was there seen such strange Brutality, nor such monstrous Debauchery. The common People drank to excess,

and

and afterwards committed the most insolent Actions. Slaves kiss'd their Masters Wives before their Faces, Gladiators ravish'd young Women of Quality in their Father's presence. So unbounded a Licence as this, could not fail to raise Quarrels, Assaults and Murders.

But all these Disasters were not sufficient to satisfy the cruelty of *Nero*. He long'd to execute the design which he had long contriv'd in his Head, to ruin at one stroke *Rome* and the Empire; and that he might resemble *Priamus* in some measure, whose happiness he would often say he envied, in seeing his Country and his Kingdom in Flames. Then he sent some Men privately, who pretending to be Drunk or Mad, should first set fire to one place, then to several, so that the Inhabitants were in an incredible consternation, neither knowing what had been the cause of the Disaster, nor what could be the Remedy. They had never seen or heard any thing so extraordinary, nor so astonishing. Wheresoever they cast their Eyes, they saw nothing but Fire, as in a Camp. They heard nothing but confus'd

fus'd Voices, that mention'd the Place
 or the Violence of the Conflagration,
 and begg'd immediate Succour. The
 whole City was in a disorder and trou-
 ble not to be express'd. The Air was
 fill'd with Smoak, and Clamours and La-
 mentations of Women and Children, of
 young Men, and old Men, insomuch,
 that their Senses were surpriz'd to that
 degree, that they were no longer able
 to distinguish any Object. Some stood
 like Statues, without Speech or Motion.
 Others convey'd away their Goods, seve-
 ral took by mistake those of their Neigh-
 bours. The crowd and confusion were
 so extream, that they press'd and tum-
 bled upon one another, without being
 able either to get forward or backward.
 Abundance of People were either squeez'd
 to Death, or had their Limbs broke.
 In a word, they ran all hazards and
 disgraces that might happen on such oc-
 casions. There was no hope of Safety,
 because they who were happy enough
 to avoid one danger, fell immediately
 into another. One ran this way, and
 another that way. Such a one under-
 stood that his House was on Fire, at a
 time when he was using his endeavours
 to

to extinguish that which was burning his Neighbour's. Another saw the Ruines and Ashes of his own, without so much as hearing that it had been on fire. Some went out of their Houses to endeavour to save them without, and others went in to contribute to the same design. There was nothing to be seen, but a universal Consternation and Despair. This deplorable Misfortune continued several Nights and Days, during which abundance of Houses were consum'd for want of Succour, and a great number of others were burnt by those very People, who ought to have contributed to their preservation, the Soldiers and Archers minding nothing but Plunder, increas'd the Fire in stead of putting it out. The Wind rising carried the Flame into those parts, which till then had been spar'd, and consum'd the rest of the City. No body being any longer solicitous to preserve Goods or Houses, those who escap'd, liken'd this vast Conflagration to that of several Cities, and several Islands. They forgot in some sort their private Losses, to regret the general loss of their Country, whose dismal Image brought
back

back to their remembrance, the deplorable condition it was formerly reduc'd to by the Arms of the *Gauls*.

Whilst all the *Romans* were in this sad but laudable disposition, several among them throwing themselves into the Fire, and burying themselves under the Ashes of their City, which they were resolv'd not to survive, *Nero* dress'd like a Harper, was at the top of a Tower in his Palace, from whence he diverted himself with the sight of the Fire, and as it burnt, he sung Songs that had been made upon the taking of *Troy*, and which agreed yet better with the destruction of *Rome*. This City had never suffer'd before or since any accident so fatal, except when 'twas burnt by the *Gauls*. For at that time the *Mount Palatin*, the Theatre of *Taurus*, and the two other quarters of the City were entirely consum'd, and an innumerable company of People were buried in the ruins of their Houses. The People charg'd *Nero* with the most terrible Imprecations, though they spar'd his Name, and only pronounc'd them against those who had burnt their Houses. They were likewise extreamly troubled about
an

an Oracle that had made some noise in the reign of *Tiberius*, the sense of which was, that in the course of nine hundred years, the City of *Rome* should be destroyed by a Sedition. *Nero* being advis'd to give out, in order to quiet them, that 'twas a suppos'd Oracle, and was no where to be found, the People reviv'd another, which is in the Books of the *Sibylls*, and runs thus.

*He, whom his Mother's Blood shall stain,
Shall last of all the Cæsars Reign.*

Now whether this Oracle was indeed deliver'd by the Gods, or made at pleasure, and applied to the condition the affairs of the *Romans* were then in, it was accomplish'd in the Person of *Nero*, since he was the last of the Family of *Julius Cæsar* that reign'd since *Æneas*.

Nero rais'd great Sums of Money upon Communities, and private Persons, as well by consent as force, under pretence of rebuilding the City, and depriv'd the People of the Corn they were wont to receive. While he was busied about these Affairs of the State, he receiv'd News of a Victory
got

got in *Armenia*, and branches of Laurel were sent him, as the marks of it.

Corbulo having assembled the Troops that were in that Country, and having us'd them continually to their Exercises, by the sole noise of his March struck a Terror into the Hearts of *Vologeses* King of *Parthia*, and *Tiridates* King of *Armenia*. He was a Man of an ancient Nobility, who had deserv'd by the vigour of his Temper, and the greatness of his Courage, to be compar'd with the first *Romans*. He had recommended himself to the World by his Valour, by his love for Justice, and above all by his Sincerity, which made him keep his word even with Strangers and Enemies. The knowledge which *Nero* had of these great Qualities, induc'd him to give him the command of the Army, with a power more absolute, than he had ever granted before to other Generals. Nor did he question, but he would reduce his Enemies to Obedience, and remain inviolably fix'd to his Service. In which he was not mistaken. And this was the only point in which *Corbulo* displeas'd the other *Romans*, inasmuch as he observ'd

religiously the faith he had sworn to *Nero*; and when they would have rais'd him to the Throne in his place, he obstinately refus'd the Honour.

He took with ease the City of *Artaxata*, and raz'd it to the Ground. Then he march'd towards that of *Tigranocerta*, sparing the Lands of those who submitted to him, and ravaging all places that durst make any Resistance. By this means he oblig'd several People to submit to the yoke of the *Roman* Government, and brought to a happy Issue several glorious Undertakings. The most memorable, and that which contributed more than any other to his Renown, is this, that how formidable soever *Vologeses* had appear'd by his Power, he oblig'd him to make Peace with him upon honourable Terms, such as were no way hurtful to the Dignity of the Empire. But in a word, what Reputation soever he had gain'd among the Soldiers, what esteem soever he had deserv'd, and how easie soever a general admiration for his Vertues, and Horror for the Vices of *Nero*, had made it for him to possess himself of the Sovereign Power, he always observ'd such a perfect Moderation,

deration, that he was never suspected to have had a design of changing the State of Affairs. Some of the most considerable Men of the Empire, observ'd a very different Conduct, as *Seneca*, and *Rufus Præfectus Prætorio*, and their Friends, who not being able to endure longer the Excesses and Cruelties of *Nero*, resolv'd to deliver themselves and *Rome* from so insupportable a Tyranny. This is what *Sulpicius Asper*, and *Subrius Flavius*, Officers of the Guards, frankly told *Nero*, when he ask'd them what motives had induc'd them to conspire against him: ' Because, said
' the first, you were in such a condition, that you could receive from me
' no further Service. I have lov'd you,
' said the other, and hated you more
' than any other. I lov'd you as long
' as there was any glimpse of hope,
' that you'd prove a good Prince. But
' I have hated you ever since I saw you
' abandon'd to the most infamous Courses, and I confess to you, that I cannot obey one that drives Chariots, and
' plays upon the Harp.

The Conspiracy being thus discover'd, they who were concern'd in it were pu-

nish'd, and several others upon their account. The least sign of Joy or Sorrow, a word or gesture was sufficient to ground an Accusation upon, and how scandalous soever the prosecution was, the Crimes of *Nero* made it seem probable 'Tis not to be imagin'd how easie 'twas for false Friends, and corrupt Servants, to hurt those whom they had a mind to accuse. For if a Man might mistrust, and be upon his guard against his Enemies and Strangers, there was no way to avoid being betray'd by such as were entertain'd in his House, or Service. It would be difficult and irksom, to make a recital of the misfortunes of all those who were put to Death, but I must not pass by that of *Seneca*. He oblig'd *Paulina* his Wife to die with him, and to suffer her Veins to be opened, under a pretence, that she had learnt of him to despise Death, and had often protested that she would not survive him. He languish'd so long, and had such a difficulty in expiring, that the Soldiers hasten'd his Death, so that he died before *Paulina*. Nevertheless he would not have recourse to Death, till he had finish'd

nish'd a work which he had begun, and secur'd some Memoirs, lest they should fall into the hands of *Nero*, and be an occasion of destroying those in whose hands he should leave them. Thus he finish'd his Life, reproaching *Nero* thro' a sort of weakness, with the strict friendship there had been betwixt them, and leaving him his Wealth, under pretence of putting it to the use of those Edifices which he had begun. His two Brothers were kill'd soon after.

Trasea and *Soran* were not in the least suspected to be concern'd in the Conspiracy, but the splendor of their Birth, the greatness of their Riches, and the eminence of their Vertue, were more than sufficient to involve them in the misfortune of the Conspirators. A Philosopher call'd *Publius Egnatius Celer*, depos'd falsely against *Soran*. He us'd to be with him every day, as well as *Caspius Asclepiodotus*. But this last was so far from accusing him of any Crime, that he made a Panegyrick upon him, for which he was banish'd from *Rome*, but afterwards recall'd in the reign of *Galba*. *Publius* receiv'd Money and Honours, in recompence for his false

Evidence, as all the Witnesses did at the same time. But he was at another time condemn'd to Exile. The pretence that was taken for putting *Soran* to Death, was, that he was addicted to the impieties of Magick, and that during *Nero's* sickness, he had offer'd a Sacrifice. As for *Trasea*, his only fault was, that he came but seldom to the Senate, because he did not approve of their Debates, that he had never heard *Nero* Sing, that he had never Sacrific'd to his Divine Voice, as others had done, and had never stoop'd to any other flattery of the like nature. Yet he had given order for the presenting a Tragedy at *Padua*, the place of his Birth, to satisfy the custom of certain Sports which were us'd to be celebrated there every thirty years. When they had open'd a Vein, he stretch'd out his Hand, and said, ' I offer this Blood to you, O *Jupiter*, Protector of the publick Liberty. There is no reason to wonder, that these great Men were so barbarously us'd without cause, since there was one that was condemn'd and executed, only because he liv'd near the *Forum*, and had hired some Shops where
he

he often receiv'd his Friends, and another, because he had a Statue of *Cassius*, one of the Assassins of *Julius Cæsar*. It is not just to omit the name of *Epicaris*, who being question'd concerning the Conspiracy, whereof she had a perfect knowledge, never confess'd any thing in spite of all the Torments *Tigellinus* made her suffer, to force her to a Discovery. Who can give an account of the Rewards that were given to the Soldiers of the Guards, upon the occasion of this Conspiracy, or the Decrees that were made in favour of *Nero* and his Friends? The Philosopher *Rufus Mersonius*, was banish'd on this occasion, and *Sabina* died of a blow that *Nero* gave her with his Foot, when she was great with Child, whether by design or mistake, is not known.

To give an instance as 'twere *en Passant*, of the prodigious Luxury in which she liv'd: The Mules that drew her Chariot, were cover'd with Harnesses of Gold, and she went every day into a Bath, made of the Milk of five hundred Asses, who had foal'd within few days. Never had any one so passionate a zeal, or was so nicely careful

to preserve her Beauty. As she was looking one day in her Glass, and not liking her self extreamly, she wish'd she might die before she came to an Age, that should deprive her of her Beauty. *Nero* was so passionately touch'd with the loss of her, that he made a young Freedman, call'd *Sporus*, an *Eunuch*, because he resembled her, then lay with him, and afterwards Married him. He also Married another Freedman, whose Name was *Pythagoras*, assign'd him a Dowry in Writing, and Married him so solemnly, that the *Romans* and other People made publick Rejoycings, at the celebration of the Nuptials. But this was not so soon. Several Persons were put to Death about this time, and some bought their Lives of *Tigellinus* with great Sums of Money. Among the ridiculous Extravagances of *Nero*, he appear'd one day in the Theatre before all the World, and there recited a Poem which he had compos'd upon the History of *Troy*, on which occasion several Sacrifices were made, as indeed there were for all his Actions. He had undertaken to describe in Verse the most remarkable adventures of the

Roman

Roman People, and had read abundance of Books in order to it. He made use of several learned Men upon this design, and principally of *Cornutus*, who was in great esteem for his profound Skill in all the fine Learning. But he banish'd him into an Island, and was very near putting him to Death upon an occasion I am going to recite. Somebody having with'd that *Nero* had compos'd four hundred Volumes, *Cornutus* said, 'Twas a great deal to write, and that there would not be found People enough to read them. Some other having answer'd, *Chrysippus* whom you commend and endeavour to imitate, has left more behind him; *Cornutus* replied, those which *Chrysippus* has left, are useful to Civil Society, and was banish'd for those words. *Lucan* was forbid to make Verses, for no other reason, but because those he had made, had gain'd him a very great Reputation.

The Consulship of *Caius Telesinus*, and *Suetonius Paulinus* was remarkable for two Events, whereof one was very Honourable to the Empire, and the other very Disgraceful. *Nero* sung and play'd
upon

upon the Harp in publick, and after he had won the Prize, was crown'd with the Applauses of all the People. Then he drove Chariots in the *Circus*. The other Event is the Journey of *Tiridates* to *Rome*, whither he brought not only his own Children, but also those of *Vologeses*, *Pacorus* and *Mono-bases*, and to which he was conducted from the Banks of *Euphrates*, with all the Pomp and Magnificence of a Triumph. He was remarkable among other things for the advantage of his Stature, and his good Mein, which wonderfully added to the Splendor of his Race, and the Reputation of his Wisdom. The Grandeur of his Train, and the Sumptuousness of his Equipage, answer'd to the Eminence of his Dignity. He was follow'd by three thousand *Parthians* on Horseback, besides a great number of *Romans*, who were mix'd with them. The Cities through which he pass'd were splendidly adorn'd, and he was receiv'd in them with the Acclamations of the Inhabitants. The People furnish'd him with every thing for nine Months, in which time he perform'd his Journey, tho' he spent

two hundred thousand Drachma's every day. *Tiridates* made all this journey on Horseback as far as *Italy*, and the Queen his Wife with him on Horseback likewise, wearing a Golden Helmet, that she might not shew her face according to the custom of her Country. But when he was in *Italy*, he made use of the Chariots which *Nero* had sent him, and went to meet him at *Naples*, passing through the Country of *Picenum*.

When he approach'd towards him, they offer'd to take away his Sword, but he refus'd to part with it, and only suffer'd it to be fasten'd to his Scabbard. He put his knee to the Ground, and lifted up his Hands to Heaven, as 'twere to adore him, and call him *Lord*, which pleas'd *Nero* so much, that he paid him very great Honours, and at *Puteoli* gave him the diversion of a Combat of *Gladiators*. *Patrobius* his Freedman had the care of it, and made an Expence so extraordinary, that in a whole day there was nothing seen upon the *Amphitheatre* but Men, Women and Children of *Ethiopia*: In which this *Patrobius* seems to be worthy of praise.

Tiridates

Tiridates shot at the Beasts from his Throne, and 'tis said that at one shoot with his Bow he kill'd two Bulls. *Nero* after that carried him to *Rome*, and set his Crown upon his Head. The City was illuminated with an infinite number of Lights, and garnish'd with all sorts of Flowers. There was in the Streets a prodigious Crow'd of People, especially in the publick Place. In the midst of this place were several Citizens cloath'd in White, with branches of Laurel. The other parts were fill'd with Soldiers in polish'd Armor. The tops of the Houses were cover'd with People. *Nero* entred into the publick Place at break of day, cloath'd in a purple Robe that was fit for the Ceremony of a Triumph, follow'd by the Senate, and encompass'd with his Guards, ascended a Throne, and sat down in the chief Seat. Afterwards *Tiridates* and those of his Retinue, pass'd through the midst of the Guards that lin'd the passage to the Throne, and when they were come underneath the Throne, they laid themselves prostrate, as they had done the first time, to adore the Emperor. Then there arose a great noise, at which *Tiridates*

ridates was so astonish'd, that his Speech fail'd him, and he thought himself lost. Nevertheless as soon as Silence was commanded, he took Courage, and constraining his natural Pride, to submit to the necessity of the Time, he resolv'd to make choice of a Stile unworthy of his Greatness, provided it might contribute to the obtaining what he desir'd. He spoke in these terms. ' I am proud, ' My Lord, to become your Slave, ' ev'n I who am the Grandson of *Ar-* ' *saces*, and Brother to the Kings *Volo-* ' *geses* and *Pacorus*. I am come hither ' to adore you, and to pay you the ' same Veneration, which I render to ' the God *Mitra*. My Destiny is such as ' you shall please to afford me, and my ' whole Fortune depends entirely upon ' you. *Nero* made him the following ' Answer: You have done extreamly ' well to come hither to visit me. You ' shall receive from my Liberality ' such Gifts as your Father could not ' leave you, and of which your Bro- ' thers could not secure you the Possessi- ' on. I make you King of *Armenia*, ' to instruct both you and them, that ' I have power to give, and to take a-
way

way Kingdoms. After that he commanded him to ascend the Steps of the Throne, and to sit down upon a Seat which had been prepar'd for him. When he was sat at the feet of *Nero*, he receiv'd the Diadem from his Hand, with the Acclamations of all the People. Which done, there was a great Assembly at the Theatre of *Pompey* by order of the Senate. Not only the Scene, but all the inside of the Theatre, and every body that came into it were cover'd with Gold, which made that Day, be call'd the Golden Day. The Covering which was spread over it to defend the Spectators from the heat of the Sun, was adorn'd with a rich Stuff, of the colour of Purple, which represented a Heav'n full of Stars, in the midst of which *Nero* appear'd driving a Chariot.

These Shews were follow'd by a Magnificent Feast, after which the Emperor sung publicly, and drove a Chariot in a green Habit and Cap, resembling other Charioteers. A sight so extraordinary gave *Tiridates* a contempt for *Nero*, and an esteem for *Corbulo*, whom he prais'd extreamly, blaming
him

him only for one thing, which was, that he could have patience to serve such a Master. He did not disguise his thoughts to *Nero*, to whom one day he took the liberty of saying, ‘ My Lord, You ‘ have an excellent Servant in the Person of *Corbulo*. But *Nero* gave no ear to him. On every other occasion he only consider’d how to flatter his Passions, and us’d all sorts of complaisance to obtain his favour. He likewise receiv’d Presents of him in recompence esteem’d, as ’twas said, at five hundred thousand Drachma’s, and permission to rebuild *Artaxata*. He carried with him from *Rome* a great number of Workmen which *Nero* had granted him for this purpose, and several others whom he had engag’d with Money. But *Corbulo* permitted none to embark with him, but such as the Emperor had assign’d him, which increas’d the Sentiments both of Contempt and Esteem, which we have already said he had for one and t’other. He return’d not by the Sea of *Ionian*, and *Illiria*, by which he came, but by the passage that separates *Brun-
dysium* from *Dirrachium*. He saw in his way the finest and strongest Cities
of

of *Asia*, which made him admire the Power of the Empire. When he was got back into his own Country, he rebuilt the City of *Artaxata*, and call'd it *Neronia*.

Vologeses would never be perswaded to go to *Rome* to visit *Nero*, whatsoever instance he made him to oblige him to it. On the contrary, he was weary of his importunities, and to get rid of them, wrote to him in these terms. 'Tis easier for you than me, to pass over so vast an extent of Sea; wherefore if you come into *Asia*, we'll agree upon the place of Interview. Tho' *Nero* was very much incens'd at this Answer, he did not pass the Seas to march against him, nor against the *Ethiopians*, nor to go to the *Caspian* Gates, as he had design'd. But after he had sent Spies every where, he went over into *Greece*, where instead of making himself famous by such Exploits as were formerly perform'd by *Memmius*, *Agrippa*, and *Augustus* his Predecessor, all his business was to drive Chariots, to Sing, and to act in Tragedies. *Rome* had no Scene large enough for so famous an Actor. Not being able to shut himself
up

up in such strait bounds as those of *Pompey*, or the great *Circus*, he must leave *Italy*, and take a Journey to shew himself in a Field of vaster extent. His Retinue was as numerous, as if he had undertaken a Military Expedition, and had resolv'd to reduce the *Parthians*, or other Nations. They who compos'd this Train, were Men altogether worthy of him, of Soldiers that had no other Arms but Viols, and Lutes, and had no other Equipage than Masks, and Buskins. He got such a Victory, as might be expected from such an Army, and in stead of taming the pride of a *Philip*, a *Perseus*, or an *Antiochus*, he aspir'd only to the glory of surpassing *Terpnus*, *Diodorus*, and *Pammenus*. He oblig'd this last, who had been formerly very famous in the reign of *Caligula*, and was then in the declension of his Age, to play with him at these kinds of Games, to the end that when he had got the better of him, he might have the priviledge of beating his Statues.

If all the Excesses of *Nero* had terminated in these Extravagancies, they had rendred him more ridiculous than odious. Not that any one could see with-

out concern, or ev'n without horror, an Emperor entring the Lists with Wrestlers, and learning to Sing, and repeating several Airs. Who could behold him without Indignation, when he suffer'd his Hair to grow, pull'd out the hairs of his Beard, when he threw back his Robe of each side, to have his Arms free to drive Chariots, when he walk'd attended only with one or two Persons, when he look'd disdainfully upon his Adversaries, and encourag'd People to quarrel and fight together? He trembled in the presence of those who presided at the Shews, and those who had authority to punish such who were wanting in their Duty, and gave them Money privately to wink at him when he committed any fault. 'Twas a thing to be deplor'd, that he should take so much pains to become the first among the Singers and Players upon Instruments, and at the same time to be the last of the *Cæsars*. In earnest, did he not divest himself in some sort of the dignity of Emperor, when he wore Buskins like a *Tragedian*, when he cover'd his face with a Mask, when he let himself be bound like a Slave that had run
away

away from his Master, when he was led up and down like a blind Man, or acted the part of a Woman in Labour, or one that was Mad? He often represented the Persons of *Oedipus*, *Thyestes*, *Hercules*, *Alcmeon*, *Orestes*, and sometimes wore Masks that resembled them, and sometimes such as were like himself. When he disguis'd himself like a Woman, he imitated as much as possibly he could, the Air of *Sabina*. If he was to be chain'd, he wore Golden Chains, because 'twas unbecoming an Emperor to wear those of Iron. The *Romans*, and even the Soldiers who saw all these things suffer'd them, and approv'd of them, calling him *Pithionicus*, *Olympionicus*, *Periodicus*, *Pantonicus*, and adding to each of these Titles, that of *Augustus* or *Cæsar*. No body had the courage to say he pitied his Misfortune, or detested his Disorders. Yet there was a Soldier who perceiving him bound one day, was concern'd at it, ran to him, and unbound him. Another, whom his Companion had ask'd what the Emperor was doing, replied, he is in Labour, and just upon the point of being deliver'd, for then he repre-

sented *Canace*. But there was not one of them that could resolve to do an Action worthy of the *Roman* Name, because *Nero* made them extravagant Presents, and the desire of enriching themselves by his profuseness, made them wish that he would abandon himself to Disorders, yet more extraordinary if possible, than those he was engag'd in.

But in a word, if these Excesses, as I began to say, cover'd him with Infamy, and expos'd him to the railleries of all his Subjects, they did not as yet disturb the publick Tranquility, whereas the violences he committed afterwards, took away all manner of safety. For as if he had taken up Arms against an Enemy's Country, he ruin'd all *Greece*, and at the same time left it free, without imposing any Taxes upon it. He put to death a world of private People, depriv'd others of their Estates, and took away by force out of the Temples of *Italy*, an infinite number of rich Presents. He abandon'd to the discretion of a Freedman call'd *Helius*, all the People of *Italy* and *Rome*, and gave him so absolute a Power, that without acquainting the Emperor with it, he
con-

confiscated the Estates of Citizens, Knights, and Senators, sent them into Banishment, and condemn'd them to Death. The Empire was then at the disposal of two Tyrants, who were so like each other, that I know not which was the most cruel, and the most insupportable. There was but one difference between them, which was, that one being descended from *Augustus*, imitated Players on the Flute, whereas the other being but the Freedman of *Claudius*, imitated Emperors. One may add to compleat the misery of the Empire, a third Tyrant, *viz. Tigellinus*, who was always with *Nero*. *Policletes*, and *Calvia Crispinilla*, ranack'd and pillag'd all that came near them, the first in *Rome* with *Helius*, and the second with *Nero* and *Sporus*, who was then call'd *Sabina*, and had the care of the Wardrobe. *Nero* had given him the name of *Sabina*, not only because he resembled her, but because he had Married him in *Greece*, as well as *Sabina* with the usual solemnities of Marriage, and had receiv'd him from the hands of *Tigellinus*, according to the direction of the Laws. The *Greeks* celebrated

these Nuptials with extraordinary marks of Joy, and wish'd they might soon see lawful Children proceed from thence. *Nero* since that time lay with *Pithagoras*, and *Sporus*; with the first as his Husband, and with the second as his Wife. Thus was *Nero* call'd Lady, Mistress, and Empress. But who will not be astonish'd to hear, that he tied Boys and Girls naked to Pillars, and covering himself with the skin of some Beast, threw himself impudently upon them, as if he would devour them? Thus breaking all the rules of Modesty, he appear'd in an embroider'd Vest, and a Cravat about his Neck before the Senators, who came to compliment him. He openly infring'd the Laws and Customs, in appearing often in publick with a loose Vest.

'Tis said, that in his reign the Cavalry began to use Stirrups in the Reviews that were made every year. He drove Chariots at the *Olympick* Games, and though he got a fall, with which he had like to have been crush'd to pieces, he carried away the Prize, in recompence whereof, he gave the Judges of the Games two hundred and fifty thou-

thousand Drachma's, which *Galba* took from them at another time. He took away from *Apollo* the Country of *Cynthus*, and gave it to the Soldiers, whether 'twas that he was displeas'd with that God, for returning some ungrateful Answer, or that he was downright Mad. He demolish'd the place where the Oracles were deliver'd heretofore, and put some Men to Death, upon the very place where the God us'd to answer those that came to consult him. He was a Combatant in all the Cities where there were any Shews, and made use of *Clunius Rufus* to make Proclamations. He never entred *Athens*, nor *Sparta*, because at the last of these places, the Laws of *Lycurgus* were too opposite to his Inclinations, and the first was believ'd to be the Habitation of the Furies. The Proclamation ran in these terms: ' The Emperor *Nero* has won the Victory in this Combat, and has crown'd the *Roman* People and his Empire with Success. Thus he who boasted of being Master of the World, sung, play'd upon the Harp, and acted upon the Stage. His hatred for the Senate was so extream, that he was highly

pleas'd with *Vatinius*, only for saying often, ' I hate you, *Cæsar*, and cannot ' possibly delp it, because you are of the ' Senate. There was an exact notice taken of every body as they entred, or return'd from the publick Shews. They examin'd your Air, your Gesture, your Countenance, the tone of your Voice. They who were assiduous in hearkning to *Nero*, in admiring all his Words, and flattering him extravagantly, were preferr'd to Offices and Dignities, whereas others were not only neglected, but insulted: some whose state of Health would not permit them to stay in the Theatre till the Shows were over, which lasted sometimes from Morning till Night, feign'd themselves dead, and under this colour were carried to their Houses.

In his *Grecian* Expedition he undertook as 'twere *en Passant*, to cut thro' the *Isthmus* of *Poloponnesus*, and began the Enterprize, though every body else oppos'd the Design. For they who began first to move the Earth, saw Blood issue from it, heard a dismal sound like that of Groans, and had been frightned with Spectres. Upon which he took

a Spade in his Hand, stuck it in the Ground, impos'd upon several the necessity of following his Example, and employ'd a great number of Strangers upon this Work. Having occasion for great sums of Money to finish this Enterprize, and to furnish other Expences, to which he was so much the more eagerly inclin'd, as he was naturally Magnificent and Liberal, he was afraid lest the most powerful Men of the Empire should conspire against him upon this occasion, and prevented those who were most esteem'd for their Probity. I am oblig'd to pass over the Names of the greatest part, in describing the misfortunes of a time in which Birth, Riches, and Vertue, were in the place of Crimes, and in which all those who had the most advantageous share of them, either perish'd by the violence of their Enemies, or prevented this violence by a voluntary Death.

But I cannot omit speaking of *Corbulo*, the *Sulpitii*, the two *Scribonians*, to wit, *Rufus* and *Proclus*. The two last were Brothers, and pretty near of the same Age. As they were yet more strictly joyn'd by a conformity of Inclinations,

nations, than by Birth, they enjoy'd every thing they had in common, as well their Offices and Employments, as their Estates and Revenues. They had commanded together in two Provinces of *Gaul*, to wit, the upper and lower *Germany*, from whence being sent for into *Greece*, as if the Emperor had occasion for their Service, they were there accus'd of the Crimes of that time, and could not obtain the favour either of seeing or speaking to *Nero*. When they saw their disgrace drew upon them the contempt of every one, they wish'd for Death, and procur'd it to themselves by opening their Veins. As for *Corbulo*, *Nero* had been accusom'd to use him very civilly, and to call him his Father, and his Benefactor. Having sent for him one day with marks of Esteem and Respect, as soon as he was arriv'd at *Cencreæ*, he refus'd to see him, and order'd him to be put to Death. Some say, he gave this order only because he was at that time just ready to sing, and to play upon the Harp, and had no mind to appear before *Corbulo* in the Habit of a Musician. He was no sooner inform'd of the intention of *Nero*,
but

but he plung'd his Dagger in his Breast, saying, ' I have well deserv'd it. For he acknowledg'd then, tho' too late, the fault he had committed in sparing a Player upon Instruments, and in coming to him unguarded. These were the bloody Executions that were acted in Greece.

Of what importance is it, to say he put to death a famous Dancer call'd *Paris* out of revenge, because he could not learn of him to dance finely? What shall I say of *Cecinna* the *Tuscan*, whom he condemn'd to Banishment, because being Governour of *Egypt*, he had us'd a Bath which the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* had prepar'd for *Nero*? *Helius* at the same was guilty of horrid Cruelties in *Rome*. He put to Death one of the chief Persons of that City, nam'd *Sulpitius Camerinus* and his Son, without being able to accuse them of any other Crime, than that of retaining the name of *Pythicus*, which they had receiv'd from their Ancestors, as if by keeping it, they had made themselves guilty of Impiety towards the Emperor, and had robb'd him of the Honour of his *Pythian* Victories. The Soldiers fir-

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nam'd the Imperialists, having promis'd to erect him a Statue that should weigh a thousand pounds, he oblig'd all the *Roman* Knights to contribute to this expence. It is not easie to relate in particular all the extraordinary things the Senate did at that time. They order'd so great a number of Feasts and Sacrifices in honour of *Nero*, that the whole year would not be sufficient to celebrate them. *Helius* having sent several Expresses to *Nero*, to exhort him to return to *Rome*, which had no effect upon him, he set out for *Greece* himself, and arriv'd there in seven days, and put him into such a fright with the relation of a Conspiracy that had been form'd against him at *Rome*, that he departed on the instant, with a design to go and disperse it by his presence. In repassing into *Italy*, he met with so violent a Storm, that there was reason to hope he would perish in it. But the hope was vain, and even fatal to some of those who had entertain'd it. When he was near the City, a part of the Wall was pull'd down, and a Gate was broke, as 'tis said the Laws direct in favour of those who have
been

been crown'd at the publick Games. The first that entred were those who wore the Crowns they had won. After them appear'd those who carried Papers at the end of their Pikes, in which were written the names of the Combats, and which testify'd that the Emperor *Nero* was the first among the *Romans* that had got Victories there. After that came *Nero* in the same Chariot, upon which *Augustus* had several times entred in Triumph. He was cloath'd in Purple embroider'd with Gold, crown'd with a Crown of Olive, holding a branch of Laurel in his Hand. On one side of him sat *Diodorus* the *Musician*. He pass'd in this Equipage thro' the *Circus*, and the publick place, follow'd by Soldiers, Knights and Senators, went up to the *Capitol*, and from thence to the Palace; the whole City being garnish'd with Flowers and Crowns, illuminated with a vast number of Lights and fill'd with the most grateful Parfumes. The People, and principally the Senators made Acclamations in these terms: *Olimpionicus, Pithionicus, Augustus, Augustus*. To *Nero Hercules*, to *Nero Apollo*. You are the

the only Conqueror in all Combats. You are alone Eternal. th *Augustus*, *Augustus*. Divine Voice. Happy are they who can hear you.

How scandalous soever these Actions may be, 'tis no shame to describe them, and I am so far from fearing they'll dishonour this Work, that I hope the Sincerity which hinders me from omitting them, will recommend it the more.

After this *Nero* set forth his Proclamation for Sports and Shows, and sent to the *Circus* in order to be fix'd to the *Obelisk*, all the Crowns he had won, to the number of one thousand eight hundred and eight. Then he drove Chariots, after which *Largius Lidus* offer'd him two hundred and fifty thousand Drachma's to hire him to Sing. But he refus'd them, thinking 'twas below him to sing for Money. Yet *Tigellinus* receiv'd the Sum to save that *Pretor's* Life. *Nero* mounted the Stage, Sung, and acted a part in Plays, ran several times at the *Circus*, and suffer'd himself to be overcome now and then to insinuate a belief, that at other times he truly conquer'd without any

any supposition of Favour. After having drawn this Picture of the Manners and Reign of *Nero*, what remains but to relate how he was depriv'd of Life and Empire.

There was a *Gaul*, Nam'd *Caius Julius Vindex*, descended from a Royal Family, whose Father was of the Order of Senators, a Man of a robust Constitution, Prudent, expert in Warfare, and capable of the greatest Enterprizes, who having got together a very considerable number of *Gauls*, oppress'd with Impositions, mounted upon a high place, from whence he spoke to them with great vehemence against *Nero*, and exhorted them to rise up against him, and take away his Life. 'He has, 'said he, plunder'd the Empire, ruin'd 'the Senate, kill'd his Mother after having committed Incest with 'her; in a word, he acquits himself in 'nothing of the Duty of an Emperor. 'For tho' one should forbear mentioning 'the Violences, the Robberies, and the 'Murders he has committed, where 'shall one find words to express the 'Extravagance and Infamy of his Debaucheries! I have seen him, My 'dear

‘ dear Companions, I beg you to be-
 ‘ lieve me, I have seen, I say, this Man,
 ‘ if one may give the name to him,
 ‘ that has Married *Sporus* and *Pythago-*
 ‘ *ras*, I have seen him upon the publick
 ‘ Stage, in the habit of a Musitian with
 ‘ a Harp, and sometimes with Buskins
 ‘ and a Mask. I have heard him Sing,
 ‘ proclaim Sports, and act upon the
 ‘ Stage. I have seen him bound, and
 ‘ dragg’d like a Slave. I have seen him
 ‘ counterfeit a Woman in Labour ; in
 ‘ a word, I have seen him do all that
 ‘ is extravagant and incredible in Fa-
 ‘ bles. Is there any body after this,
 ‘ that would give him the Titles of
 ‘ *Cæsar*, *Augustus*, and Emperor, and so
 ‘ far dishonour such great Names, as
 ‘ heretofore so justly belong’d to *Clau-*
 ‘ *dius* and *Octavius* ? There is much more
 reason to give him those of *Thyestes*,
 ‘ *Oedipus*, *Alcmeon*, and *Orestes*, whose
 ‘ madness he imitates. Make a gene-
 ‘ rous Effort then to free your selves
 ‘ from so scandalous a Tyranny, and
 ‘ to deliver *Rome* and the whole Em-
 ‘ pire.

This Speech of *Vindex*, was follow’d
 by the general Applause of the Army.
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He would not make himself Master of the Sovereign Power, but gave it up to *Sulpicius Galba*, a Man that had recommended himself by his love for Justice, and the experience he had gain'd in the Art of War. He commanded at that time in *Spain*, where he had great Power, and was proclaim'd Emperor by the Army. 'Tis said, that *Nero* set a Reward of twenty five Millions of Drachma's upon the Head of *Vindex*, and that *Vindex* made answer. 'I'll give my own Head, as a reward to him that shall bring me that of *Nero*.

Rufus, who commanded then in *Germany*, having understood what disposition *Vindex* was in, march'd as if he design'd to give him Battel, and approaching, *Besancon* laid Siege to it in revenge upon the Inhabitants, for refusing to open their Gates to him. *Vindex* marching towards it to assist the Town, they sent Messages to each other, and had afterwards a private Conference, in which there is reason to believe, they agreed to deprive *Nero* of the Sovereign Power. *Vindex* soon after making a Motion, as if he intended to enter into the Town, the Troops

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of *Rufus* believing that he was marching against them, fell upon them without orders, put his Men to the rout, and cut in pieces a great number of them, at which *Vindex* was so sensibly touch'd, that he kill'd himself. This was the true manner of his Death, though the many wounds he receiv'd in his Body, made it be given out contrary to truth, that he was kill'd by his Enemies. *Rufus* was extreamly concern'd at the loss of him, and refus'd the Empire that was offer'd him by the Army. This *Rufus* was a Man of great Courage, and was capable of the highest Undertakings. The Soldiers pull'd down the Statues of *Nero*, broke them in pieces, and proclaim'd *Rufus* Emperor. A Soldier wrote his name upon one of the Standards, and *Rufus* put it out on the instant, and with much difficulty perswaded his Troops to desist from their Enterprize, and to leave to the Senate and People, the choice of an Emperor. Whether he did thus, because he thought the Army ought not to assume to themselves, a right to dispose of the Sovereign Power, or whether he had an elevation of mind so extraordinary, as

to contemn a Power which others aspire to with so violent a passion.

When the first news of these motions was brought to *Nero*, he pretended not to value them, and continued to divert himself according to his Custom. He even affected to appear so very much undisturb'd, that having sent at Midnight for some of the most considerable among the Senators and Knights, as if he had had some affair of great consequence to impart to them, 'I have found, said he, a way to give a stronger and sweeter sound to an Instrument of Musick. He was very little concern'd about the Prodigies that seem'd very plainly to signify his Ruine. The Doors of his Chamber, and those of *Augustus's* Tomb open'd of their own accord the same Night. It rain'd Blood upon *Mount Alba*, with which the Rivers were swell'd, and the *Egyptian* Sea overflow'd the Coasts. But when he heard that *Galba* had been proclaim'd Emperor by the Soldiers, and that *Rufus* had shaken off the yoke of Obedience, he was seiz'd with fear, made some preparations for War at *Rome*, and sent *Rubrius Gallus* with some Troops

against the Conspirators. But when he saw himself deserted by these, he had a design to destroy all the Senate, set fire to the City, and retire to *Alexandria*. He was so extravagant as to say, that though he should be depriv'd of the Empire, he could live in *Egypt* upon the Trade he had learnt, and that he would play upon his Instruments. When his own Guards were dispers'd, he resolv'd to take his Flight. He chang'd his Habit in a Garden, whither he came to Repose himself, put on very obscure Cloaths, and got upon as scurvy a Horse, and in the Evening arriv'd at a Country Seat belonging to one of his Freedmen call'd *Pbaon*, attended only by this *Phaon*, *E-paphroditus*, and *Sporus*.

At this very hour there was so furious an Earthquake, that it seem'd as if those whom he had put to Death, would come out of their Graves to rise up against him. 'Tis said, that being known and saluted by one whom he met by the way, he turn'd back, and hid himself among Reeds, where he remain'd till 'twas Day, mistrusting even those who had attended him, and trem-

trembling at the least noise he heard. The barking of a Dog, the crowing of a Cock, the moving of a branch were sufficient to frighten him, so that he was in terrible disorder the whole Night, not being able to Sleep, and not daring to speak for fear of being discover'd. Thus he did nothing but groan inwardly, and deplore his sad Condition, when after having been surrounded with a numerous Court, he was then reduc'd to hide himself in a Marsh with three of his Freedmen. This was the last part the Gods gave him to act, in which there was no other Parricide or Vagabond to represent but himself. He began then to repent of his irregular Actions, as if by this Repentance, he could revoke what he had done. This was the last act of his Life, in which he often repeated a Verse, the sense of which was, that his Father and his Wife had caus'd him to die miserably. Seeing that no body lookt after him, he entred with those who attended him into a Cave, where finding himself press'd with Hunger and Thirst, he eat some Bread, and drank some Water, of which he had never eat or drank before;

fore ; so that after he had tasted the Water, he said, ‘ Is this the delicious ‘ Drink that I was wont to have ?

While *Nero* was in this miserable extremity, the People offer’d Sacrifices in *Rome*, and shew’d several other marks of Joy. Some wore Caps as a sign of Liberty. There were measures taken afterwards to secure to *Galba* the possession of the Sovereign Power. Then they began to think of looking after *Nero*. No body knew for some time, which way he was fled, but as soon as ’twas known, some Horse were sent after him. When he heard them coming, he desired those who were with him to dispatch him, which when they refus’d, he sighing said, ‘ I am the only Man in the World, who have neither Friend nor Enemy. As the Horse drew nearer, he thrust his Sword into his Body, and said those words that are so common, Gods, what a Master dies to day ! Not dying, but languishing with his Wound, he was dispatch’d by *Epaphroditus*. He liv’d thirty years and nine Months, having reign’d thirteen years and eight Months, and was the last of the Emperors

perors that descended from *Æneas* and *Augustus*. His Death had been presag'd, by that of a Laurel formerly planted by *Livia*, and by the extinction of the Race of certain white Fowls.

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